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**AUTHORIZING ADDITIONAL DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
APPROPRIATIONS FOR MIGRATION AND REFUGEE  
ASSISTANCE FOR FISCAL YEARS 1980 AND 1981**

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**HEARINGS AND MARKUP**  
BEFORE THE  
**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
AND ITS  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS  
**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**  
NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

**H.R. 4955**

JULY 25 AND 27, 1979

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1979

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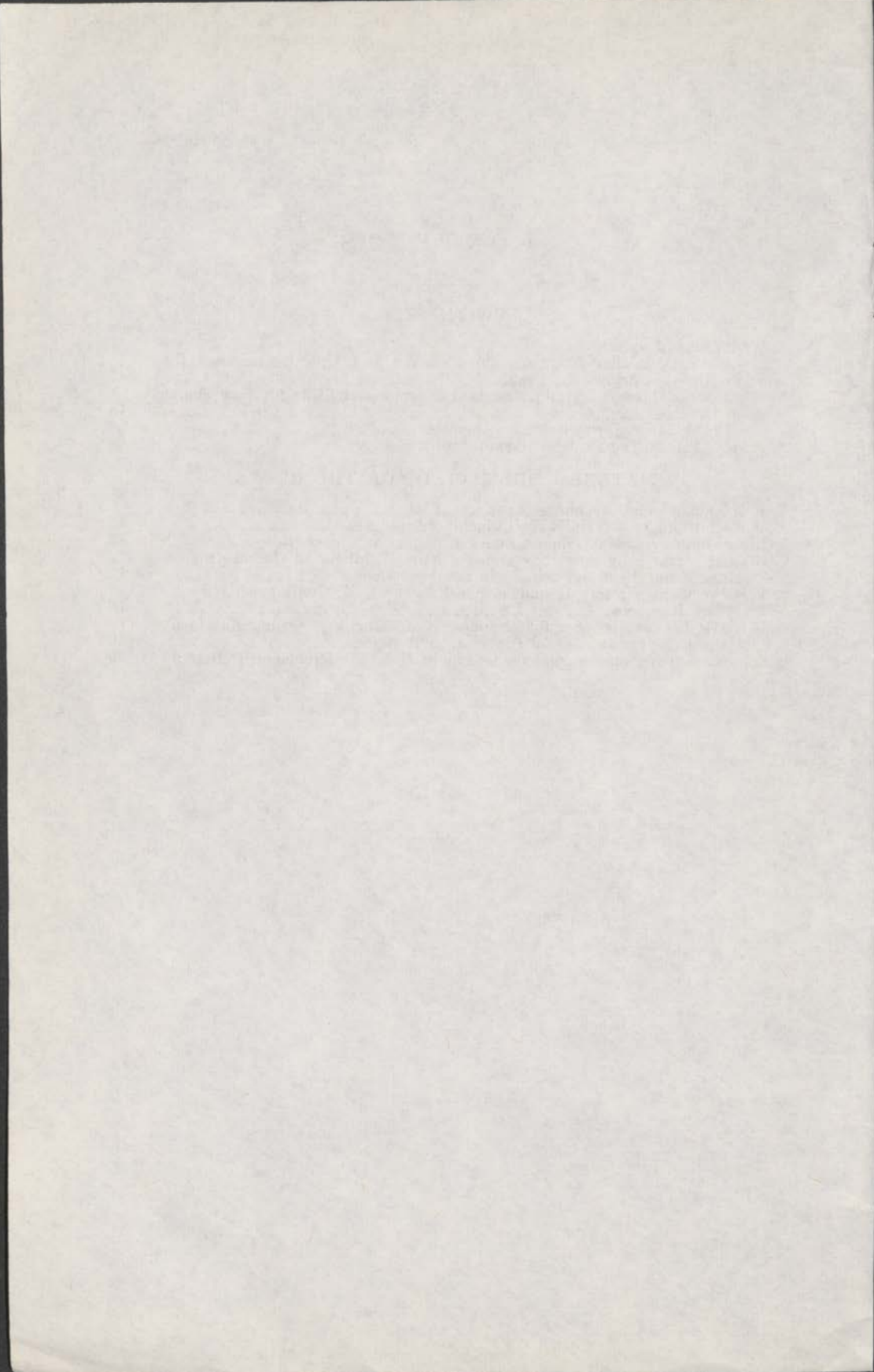
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**AUTHORIZING ADDITIONAL DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
APPROPRIATIONS FOR MIGRATION AND REFUGEE  
ASSISTANCE FOR FISCAL YEARS 1980 AND 1981**

**WEDNESDAY, JULY 25, 1979**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met at 10:10 a.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Dante B. Fascell (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. FASCELL. The subcommittee will come to order.

We meet today to discuss a new executive request for a fiscal year 1980 and 1981 budget amendment for refugees. Ambassador Dick Clark, the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, is here to explain this request in detail to us.

We recognize the urgency of this issue and the need to move with all possible speed. We have before us a draft bill to authorize the additional funds.

Mr. Ambassador, before we let you speak, we will let you keep working on your remarks until we get back. We will take an informal recess to go vote.

[Brief recess.]

Mr. FASCELL. Well, Mr. Ambassador, we will start again. I see you have a prepared statement which, you may read. Otherwise, we will put it in the record and you may proceed to tell us about the recent conference in Geneva and also the details on the specific request.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I note that the Ambassador, in the spirit of Henry Kissinger; was rewriting the draft of his speech as he sat there at the table.

Mr. FASCELL. In that case, we ought to let him read it.

Mr. BUCHANAN. We should at least let him read what he rewrote.

Mr. FASCELL. Why don't we just give to the press the part you struck out, and then we can go about our business.

[Laughter.]

**STATEMENT OF HON. DICK CLARK, AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE AND  
U.S. COORDINATOR FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS**

Ambassador CLARK. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and Congressman Buchanan. I am pleased to be with the subcommittee once again.

On my left is Bob Oakley, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian Affairs.

Let me say at the outset that no one has been more supportive than you in assisting with the plight of refugees, and I speak, I think, not only for the Department of State but for the entire Government and, I think, the majority of Americans in thanking you for that constant support.

We are here, of course, to talk about the authorizations for the migration and refugee assistance program for fiscal years 1980 and 1981. I will try to make my remarks somewhat briefer than those which are outlined in the justifications.

As you are well aware, this is a critical time for U.S. refugee programs. In the short period of time since I testified before your committee on the 1979 supplemental request, the numbers of needy refugees have increased on every continent, particularly in Southeast Asia where we face a crisis of unprecedented proportions.

The UNHCR-sponsored camps are overflowing with 375,000 refugees. Thousands of Indochinese have lost their lives in seeking safety and asylum, and the prospects of the continued expulsion of refugees from Indochina threatens the peace and security of the entire region.

As the United States and many other delegations pointed out at Geneva at that meeting on refugees last Friday and Saturday, this is a time for action, not rhetoric. In response to this urgent situation, the President has already taken a number of concrete steps to increase the United States' assistance to the Indochinese refugees.

At the Tokyo economic summit, he announced that we would double our resettlement rate from 7,000 to 14,000 Indochinese refugees a month. At the Geneva meeting, Vice President Mondale announced further decisions to increase our contributions to the financial and personnel needs of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to provide additional funds for the creation of new refugee processing centers in Southeast Asia and to use the U.S. Navy ships and planes in the South China Sea to provide more assistance to refugees in distress.

Let me take just a moment at this point to give you an assessment of the Geneva meeting, since members of the subcommittee have expressed a particular interest in its outcome. Briefly, I think by almost any standards the meeting was a success. We certainly met the objectives of Secretary General Waldheim and the High Commissioner, Mr. Hartling.

Specifically, the delegations present responded generously to the High Commissioner's request to redouble the previous worldwide resettlement rate. We are very pleased that the UNHCR now has resettlement offers for some 260,000 refugees in the coming 18 months.



In addition, the UNHCR received new pledges of financial support totaling about \$190 million.

I would also note the offer of the Japanese to underwrite 50 percent of the UNHCR's budget for Indochinese programs. These new pledges will go a long way toward easing the UNHCR's financial burden and permitting the improvement of camp conditions and facilities in Southeast Asia.

Among the other achievements at the meeting, one of the most important, in my view, is the new Philippine offer to provide a site for a new refugee processing center to accommodate up to 50,000 refugees while they await their turn to depart for the countries who have guaranteed their eventual resettlement.

This is the largest such center to be proposed to date, and it represents a major step toward the essential creation of a network of new facilities designed to relieve pressure on existing camps and encourage first-asylum countries to accept all new refugees.

Vice President Mondale introduced another idea in his speech that received attention and support in Geneva. This is our proposal to create an international resettlement fund to assist developing countries in overcoming the financial and other difficulties they face in absorbing refugees from Southeast Asia.

The UNHCR has been holding meetings this week on the implementation of this and other ideas suggested at the meeting.

Finally, the delegations generally expressed support for regularized departures from Vietnam directly to resettlement countries. As you know, the UNHCR has negotiated a seven-point plan with Hanoi to facilitate legal departures. We are supporting this plan to the extent that it promises family reunification and freedom of emigration, and to the extent that it does not jeopardize efforts to resettle refugees who have already risked their lives to flee and are now languishing in camps in Southeast Asia.

We have notified the High Commissioner that in principle we are prepared to send U.S. consular officers to Vietnam on temporary detail to work with the UNHCR personnel in screening Vietnamese destined for the United States under this plan. The details still have to be worked out, but we are hopeful that this step will permit us to accelerate legal departures from Vietnam.

Since the first people to come to this country in this manner qualify under the U.S. immigration laws, they are considered immigrants rather than refugees, and they do not divert refugee admission numbers from the camps in Southeast Asia.

I would like to return now in brief summary to the measures that the United States is taking to alleviate human suffering and political tensions in Southeast Asia. The decisions announced by the President and Vice President will, of course, require additional funding. We greatly appreciate the support this subcommittee has provided in securing the necessary authorizations for our refugee program.

Let me explain the requests that are before you today. The budget amendment consists of four major parts. First, the administration is requesting an additional \$64 million to support the UNHCR's program of care and maintenance for Indochinese refugees. We are also asking

for \$20 million to finance our share of the construction costs for new refugee processing centers in Southeast Asia.

While our requested contributions to the UNHCR for fiscal year 1980 represent an increase over this year, they will actually constitute a smaller percentage of the UNHCR's total program for Southeast Asia. Thanks to the generous response of other countries to the UNHCR's appeals, and especially the Japanese pledge to finance 50 percent of the Indochinese program, the United States will no longer have to bear such a heavy burden for UNHCR care and maintenance.

Second, the State Department is including in this amendment \$105 million to cover the additional costs of doubling our resettlement quota from 84,000 to 168,000 during fiscal year 1980.

I would like to mention at this point that the State Department's fiscal 1980 request originally provided for a new system of transportation grants to replace the existing loans to refugees coming to the United States. After consultation with the voluntary agencies and the Congress, we have decided that the present loan system is effective and should be maintained in the coming years.

Third, we are requesting \$17 million for the State Department to reimburse the Defense Department for Military Sealift Command ships to transport refugees from existing camps to new refugee processing centers established in Southeast Asia and to assist refugees in distress. It also covers special air reconnaissance and search for refugees in distress.

Fourth, the amendment includes \$1.29 million for positions necessary to carry out our expanded refugee program.

In conclusion, our amendment for 1980 amounts to \$207.29 million. In addition, we are requesting authorization to continue resettling Indochinese refugees at the rate of 14,000 a month in 1981.

We will examine this position as time goes on, and we will submit the exact numbers in our fiscal year 1981 budget request. But on the basis of 14,000 resettlements a month in fiscal year 1981, the additional costs would be \$112,350,000.

I would be happy, Mr. Chairman, to answer questions based upon that testimony or anything the members would like to discuss.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador. I want to thank you and commend you for the prompt response to the subcommittee's request, for getting the administration proposal up for authorization so that we can proceed quickly on the matter since it is obviously urgent.

It is a big "if," but if all the pieces fall in place, perhaps we can not only get the authorization but the funding without having to wait for a supplemental in early spring.

We have with us today some colleagues who are on the full committee but both of whom were in Geneva at the conference with you. Congressman Wolff is the chairman of the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, and I would like to give him an opportunity to say something at this point or ask some questions.

Ambassador CLARK. May I say, Mr. Chairman, that the presence of both Congressman Wolff and Congressman Solarz was very valuable at the conference, along with other Members of the House of Repre-



sentatives. They conducted a number of valuable bilateral meetings with, I think, virtually every delegation there, and it was a great service to us to have their presence and to have their thinking.

Mr. FASCELL. I am glad to hear that. We would like to hear from both of them now before we get into regular questioning.

Mr. Wolff.

Mr. WOLFF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First, let me greet our former colleague, now an Ambassador, and commend to the committee the outstanding work that has been done by Ambassador Clark in very trying circumstances, and overcoming many great difficulties. The outstanding work that he and his staff did at the meeting is really to be recognized.

I offer my congratulations to you for the outstanding results that were achieved.

Ambassador CLARK. Thank you.

Mr. WOLFF. One aspect of this which still troubles me is the UNHCR and what plans they have for increasing their personnel in the existing camps, and what they are going to do about transferring their priorities from Geneva to the field. Could you give us any inclination as to what the prospects are?

Ambassador CLARK. Let me say there was an encouraging sign in this respect at the end of the meeting when High Commissioner Waldheim said he would call a meeting Monday, yesterday, of participants to try to address the technical ways in which these decisions of the Geneva conference would be met, and we had our representatives at that meeting.

It was agreed also, I might say, that a senior official of the United Nations High Commissioner's office in Geneva would be specifically assigned to the implementation of the refugees processing centers. So we are concerned, certainly, as you are about implementing these decisions now with the best people possible as rapidly as possible. That is certainly what we are going to be working for.

I think the meeting that was held Monday is a good beginning.

Now, with regard to the Peace Corps, I know that that proposal is going forward as well, so we are certainly going to be working with them to try to implement this.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Ambassador, what I had reference to is the fact that in the number of people that they have, for example, in Thailand, they include the number of secretaries that they have and support personnel. They have only three people, as I understand it, in the field.

Now, the rest of the figures are made up by the support personnel and they are not indicative of any type of field activity. I am hopeful if we make the recommendation for the increased appropriation to the UNHCR, that we do couple that with some sort of request for additional field personnel.

I am totally at odds with the idea of having 200 people sit in Geneva to administer a program with so few people in the field.

Ambassador CLARK. Mr. Wolff, let me simply say we agree wholeheartedly on the need for more staff in Thailand and in the other camps. It is badly understaffed. We think that with these additional funds, they ought to be able to provide more.

I know that there are limitations that many of us supported in terms of the size of U.N. personnel, but it is a real problem with doubling, tripling, and quadrupling the camp sizes there. If we are going to serve them adequately, we must have more personnel and better personnel.

Mr. WOLFF. The other point I want to make, Mr. Chairman, was the fact that although we did make great progress in the area of the boat people and the sea travel that has been a part of the entire problem, very little was done regarding the land people, and particularly in the Thailand-Cambodia area.

I was also troubled by the fact that the Lao were not represented. We have Laotian refugees. The Lao Deputy Foreign Minister was at the conference but had not been invited to participate at all, and he was very upset about that. There is a very definite problem that we do have there.

I would ask that if there could be some activity as well in connection with these land people, since a very serious problem exists on the border. They say they have 10,000 there. What happens to the other 60,000 or 70,000 people who are still in camps that the Thais may be pushing across the border once again?

Ambassador CLARK. Let me say we are very much in agreement with you with regard to the outcome of the conference and its effect on land refugees. The emphasis seemed inevitably to move toward the question of boat refugees in spite of the fact that we constantly reminded delegations that this was equally important. Half the refugees in Southeast Asia are land refugees. I think it is clear as we go ahead with refugee processing centers and as we go ahead with additional resettlements, that adjustments must be made to allow for that.

Mr. FASCELL. Our other distinguished colleague who was at the conference, the gentleman from New York, who is chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa is Mr. Solarz. We would be glad to hear from him at this time.

Mr. SOLARZ. Thank you. I will wait my turn before asking any questions because, as you know, I am not a member of the subcommittee. But I did just want to say that in the history of refugee conferences, the Geneva conference which was held last weekend was not only the most successful such conference ever held; it was the only successful conference which was ever held.

I think in large measure that was due to the leadership our own country has shown in attempting to mobilize the support of the international community in response to this crisis. And the leadership our own country has provided was in turn, in my judgment, to a large extent a function of the leadership Ambassador Clark has demonstrated on this issue.

I think 210 million Americans owe a great vote of gratitude to Ambassador Clark. Unfortunately, they couldn't vote in the last election. But I think you have redeemed and reaffirmed the best of what is in America. This is really what our country is about, and I think we can be enormously proud of the role we played in helping to achieve this success.

And you in particular, Mr. Ambassador, can be proud for having been the point man in that effort.



Ambassador CLARK. I thank you very much.

Mr. FASCELL. The other member of the Foreign Affairs Committee who was at the conference was our colleague, Mr. Pritchard, who is in a markup on another bill. Mr. Ambassador, he will come over as soon as he gets through that markup.

Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would simply like to be a "me too" Republican and echo what the gentleman from New York has just said, Mr. Ambassador, about your personal leadership and our country's performance in this matter.

Ambassador CLARK. Thank you very much.

Mr. BUCHANAN. The world looks to us for leadership and it is a very good thing when we deliver, I think.

Ambassador CLARK. Thank you.

Mr. BUCHANAN. While the boat people may comprise just half the refugees, I believe they have dramatized for the American people and for the world the severity of the problem. I cannot but think that notwithstanding all the questions which may be raised, that the American people would support what you are trying to do in this matter.

Our flag is not only a symbol of freedom; it is and must be a symbol of hope in the world. I like the idea of our Navy playing this role of picking up the boat people. Whatever others do, we must do what our heritage demands of us. It is a good thing that we have been able to get such a good response from other countries.

I appreciate your leadership, and I have no questions.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Mica.

Mr. MICA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My only comment is to express my pleasure with the results to date of the activities in Geneva. I think I have been on record for some time as saying that I think this Nation has taken the lead and done its job. In fact, I feel we have gone above and beyond the call of duty and our conscience prods us to do more, and I understand that.

But up until this late week, I have felt very strongly that other nations—and as you may know, I have singled out Japan as not having done its fair share. So I hope this is a step in the right direction and I hope the pressure will continue. As I understand it, and correct me if I am wrong, we are talking about taking another quarter of a million refugees and placing them in other nations.

That would still leave us with three-quarters of a million minimum that we estimate will be coming out. So that there is a great deal to be done. I think that not only should we continue our own efforts, but again, I would continue to place my own emphasis and hope we will on getting all the nations of the world that can participate to participate to a fuller extent.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you.

Mr. Gray.

Mr. GRAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I certainly want to join with my colleagues in commending the leadership of Ambassador Clark and join with them in the praise that has already been given. I would like to ask one or two brief questions.

You have mentioned that the increase would be from 7,000 per month to 14,000 per month. I was wondering how long the U.S. would accept 14,000 refugees per month. Do you have any projections on that?

Ambassador CLARK. The President's decision was to go to 14,000 a months this year, immediately. In fact, we are implementing that decision and trying to meet that request this year. Additionally, as the Vice President said in his speech in Geneva, we believe these commitments ought to be multiyear commitments, not single year commitments.

We have not technically gone through the processes of a Presidential decision on future years. But, as we reported this morning to this subcommittee, we are requesting that for authorization purposes in fiscal year 1981, that the figure 14,000 be used for that year as well. I think we want to review it as we go along each year in relation to what is happening out in Southeast Asia.

Mr. GRAY. So are you saying, Mr. Ambassador, that 14,000 a month for the rest of this year and perhaps also into 1980, but on a continual review basis?

Ambassador CLARK. Yes; the President has made a decision for this year, and we are recommending that figure for authorization for next year. But in all frankness, I think we would want to look at that at the end of each year to see what is happening and to adjust the figures on that basis.

Mr. GRAY. Do you have any projections or are there any studies in the process now about the impact of the influx of refugees in the United States in terms of the job market, the competition here at home in a very tight situation where projections are that we are going to have rising unemployment in the late fall and increasing inflation? Has there been any thought given to that?

Ambassador CLARK. There certainly has been, Congressman Gray, and particularly as we go up now from the figure of 7,000 a month to 14,000 a month. Basically, I think the success story of these Indo-chinese refugees is a rather remarkable one. I must say that in 1975 as we began to bring very large numbers into the country, I personally wondered whether they would really be able to find employment, adjust to the society and so forth.

The statistics, however, are clear. They have done so and done so very successfully. Almost 94 percent of the work force of those who have presently arrived—and that is about 215,000 total—are employed. Now frankly, they are very often underemployed, as we would say. They are taking very low-level jobs. But they have been very, very successful both in terms of employment and in terms of their acculturation or adjustment into society.

I think it is for that reason that we have had the strong support of organized labor, of the civil rights groups, of really just about every group in America that is concerned about the issues you raise.

Mr. GRAY. I would appreciate it very much if you have some factual information about past experiences, as well as projections of the future. In terms of that, I would certainly like to have it for my own personal information.



Ambassador CLARK. Fine.

Mr. GRAY. May I ask one other question, Mr. Chairman? Then I will be through.

Mr. FASCELL. Take your time.

Mr. GRAY. You may have already commented on this in your opening statement. What concessions did other countries make to assist the refugees? Do we have any strong allies who are really going all out to help in this disastrous kind of situation?

Ambassador CLARK. Yes. I think at the end of the testimony, if I might, it might be valuable to put this [indicating] in the record. It shows what each country has done.

Mr. FASCELL. Without objection, so ordered.

[The material referred to follows:]

| Country:                                      | Total resettled (as of June 30, 1979) | Annual rate prior to June 15, 1979 | Annual re-settlement July 1, 1979 to June 30, 1980 (pledges) |
|---|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Argentina.....                                |                                       |                                    | 4,500  |
| Australia.....                                | 22,759                                | 10,500                             | 14,000   |
| Austria.....                                  | 346                                   |                                    | 580  |
| Belgium.....                                  | 1,336                                 | 300                                | 2,062  |
| Brazil.....                                   | 37                                    |                                    | 63   |
| Cameroon.....                                 | 3                                     |                                    |  |
| Canada.....                                   | 15,076                                | 8,000                              | 36,000   |
| Denmark.....                                  | 570                                   | 210                                | 800  |
| Finland.....                                  | 0                                     |                                    | 100  |
| France.....                                   | 50,637                                | 12,600                             | 22,600   |
| FRG.....                                      | 3,735                                 | 3,000                              | 10,000   |
| Gabon.....                                    | 4                                     |                                    |  |
| Greece.....                                   |                                       |                                    | 200  |
| Hong Kong.....                                | 252                                   |                                    |  |
| Iceland.....                                  |                                       |                                    | 30   |
| Iran.....                                     | 47                                    |                                    |  |
| Ireland.....                                  |                                       |                                    | 200  |
| Israel.....                                   | 168                                   |                                    | 200  |
| Italy.....                                    | 256                                   |                                    | 1,000  |
| Japan.....                                    | 51                                    |                                    | 500  |
| Lichtenstein.....                             |                                       |                                    | 20   |
| Luxembourg.....                               | 47                                    |                                    | 100  |
| Malaysia.....                                 | 2,137                                 | 600                                | 600  |
| Monaco.....                                   |                                       |                                    | 25   |
| Netherlands.....                              | 469                                   | 360                                | 1,360  |
| New Caledonia.....                            | 38                                    |                                    |  |
| New Zealand.....                              | 948                                   |                                    | 1,200  |
| Norway.....                                   | 870                                   | 400                                | 2,400  |
| Paraguay.....                                 | 31                                    |                                    |  |
| Philippines.....                              | 127                                   |                                    |  |
| People's Republic of China <sup>1</sup> ..... | 230,000                               |                                    | 10,000   |
| Spain.....                                    | 1                                     |                                    | 1,000  |
| Surinam.....                                  |                                       |                                    | 750  |
| Sweden.....                                   | 263                                   |                                    | 2,000  |
| Switzerland.....                              | 1,677                                 |                                    | 1,000  |
| Taiwan <sup>2</sup> .....                     |                                       |                                    | 1,000  |
| United Kingdom.....                           | 2,841                                 |                                    | 10,000   |
| United States.....                            | 210,000                               | 84,000                             | 168,000  |
| Total.....                                    | 544,726                               | 119,970                            | 291,540  |

<sup>1</sup> Direct arrivals from Vietnam, 1978-79.

<sup>2</sup> Outside U.N. system. Taiwan claims to have resettled 10,000; most were holders of GROC passports and brought to Taiwan directly on "repatriation" flights.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNHCR FOR INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

[In U.S. dollars]

| Country:                    | From 1975 to<br>June 30, 1979 | Balance of<br>1979 | Pledged con-<br>tributions for<br>1980 |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|--|
| Australia                   | 9,826,552                     | 5,000,000          |  |
| Austria                     | 43,512                        |                    | 100,000                                |
| Belgium                     | 584,873                       |                    | 730,000                                |
| Canada                      | 1,946,102                     | 400,000            |  |
| Cyprus                      | 1,001                         |                    |  |
| Denmark                     | 5,807,129                     | 1,900,000          |  |
| EEC                         | 7,962,910                     | 25,000,000         | 5,000,000                              |
| Finland                     |                               | 1,000,000          |  |
| France                      |                               |                    |  |
| Federal Republic of Germany | 7,042,458                     | 3,800,000          | 10,900,000                             |
| Greece                      | 15,000                        |                    |  |
| Iran                        |                               | 100,000            |  |
| Ireland                     | 77,033                        | 400,000            |  |
| Italy                       | 783,000                       | 800,000            |  |
| Japan                       | 23,586,444                    | ( <sup>1</sup> )   |  |
| Korea                       |                               |                    | ( <sup>2</sup> )                       |
| Mauritius                   | 11,133                        |                    |  |
| Netherlands                 | 3,839,189                     | 4,900,000          |  |
| New Zealand                 | 363,819                       |                    |  |
| Nigeria                     |                               | 120,000            |  |
| Norway                      | 6,030,348                     | 2,000,000          |  |
| Papua-New Guinea            |                               |                    | ( <sup>2</sup> )                       |
| Philippines                 | 25,000                        |                    |  |
| People's Republic of China  |                               | 900,000            |  |
| Sweden                      | 3,326,341                     |                    |  |
| Switzerland                 | 1,054,967                     |                    |  |
| United Kingdom              | 5,588,580                     | 5,400,000          | 5,400,000                              |
| United States               | 42,855,000                    | 34,000,000         | 105,500,000                            |
| Total                       | 120,780,391                   | 85,720,000         | 127,630,000                            |

<sup>1</sup> 50 percent of future costs.<sup>2</sup> Pledges for refugee processing centers are not included since prospects and costs are still being developed.

Note: Taiwan contributed \$500,000 to the International Rescue Committee for assistance to Indochinese refugees.

Ambassador CLARK. There really are some great increases, both in dollar figures and resettlement figures. Canada, for instance, has projected resettlement offers of 50,000 which is significantly more than they have taken in the past, and they have been one of the very best countries in terms of taking refugees.

Australia: 14,000; France: 17,000; The Federal Republic of Germany: 10,000; Argentina, interestingly enough: 4,000. And on it goes. The United Kingdom: 10,000. In short or in summary, we have been able to go from about 120,000 a year total to about 260,000 a year, or somewhat more than double the numbers.

Mr. GRAY. Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador. I will look forward to getting that information, particularly about the job situation and economic impact. Again, I would like to commend you and your staff for the outstanding job you are doing not only for this Nation but, indeed, for the entire world.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I do have one question. I would like to know if the figures you submitted to us are the same as those you submitted to OMB.

Ambassador CLARK. It is my recollection that they are, but let me check to be certain.



Mr. BUCHANAN. I would rather err on the side of generosity.

Ambassador CLARK. There were no changes in the Indochina program. That is, these are the figures that we recommended with regard to this program.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Very good. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Ambassador, the total count on camps, and this is Indochinese only, of course, is 375,000 refugees, according to your statement. Would you break that down for us, please, by country, such as Thailand, Malaysia?

Ambassador CLARK. Yes. Do you want the present figures the figures in the camp right now?

Mr. FASCELL. Right.

Ambassador CLARK. I will round these off. In Thailand, 165,000 land refugees, 9,000 boat refugees, or a total in Thailand of 173,600 refugees. In Malaysia there are 78,000 in camps; in Hong Kong and Macau 62,000; in Indonesia we estimate 47,000; in the Philippines, 5,000; and in other areas, Taiwan, Singapore, and so forth, about 2,000.

These were actually figures of best estimates on June 30 and those figures that I have given you total about 370,000, actually.

Mr. FASCELL. Now, that excludes the alleged figure of 30,000 in China?

Ambassador CLARK. That is correct. It does exclude all the figures for China. In fact, the Chinese use the figure of 230,000 that have come across on land into China since the beginning of last year. And Bob Oakley points out that they say 200,000 of those 230,000 have been settled; therefore, the 30,000 you have mentioned are in China but as yet unsettled.

Mr. FASCELL. Is there any estimate of refugees now living on boats?

Ambassador CLARK. Well, only those who are on their way to trying to find asylum. Let me take exception to that. In Hong Kong there are people on a large boat there who are awaiting resettlement and have not been allowed to leave the boat.

Mr. FASCELL. How many people?

Ambassador CLARK. I wonder if someone here can speak to the exact figure? [No response.] There are several hundred. If I could furnish that for the record.

Mr. FASCELL. Yes, if you will.

Ambassador CLARK. And the *Tung An*, which is still in Manila Bay, most of the people or more than half of the people have been removed but I think there are about 800 on that boat. But I will supply that, too.

[The information referred to follows:]

#### INDOCHINESE REFUGEES LIVING ON BOATS IN FIRST-ASYLUM COUNTRIES

As of July 26, 1979, there were 8,000 Indochinese refugees living in boats in Hong Kong Harbor who had not been allowed to disembark and register with officials of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. There were also some 800 refugees remaining on the *Tung An* in Manila Harbor.

Mr. FASCELL. What has been the flow of boat people, let's say, for this 6 months? Do we have that figure? And what are we estimating?

Ambassador CLARK. For example, in March the Indochinese flow as a whole was 22,000. In April that went up to 32,000, almost 33,000.

In May, that went up to 65,000, and in June it was 57,000. We will give you a copy of the record all of the way back.

Mr. FASCELL. Yes; I would like to see that curve, and also what the estimate is, because that leads to the next question, which is: Exactly what is the Vietnamese position with respect to the flow of people from now on?

Ambassador CLARK. Well, I think it might be well if I could read from the United Nations High Commissioner's statement at the end of the session, if that can be found here, because it states in one sentence all that we can really say with any degree of certainty.

I might say by way of background—

Mr. FASCELL. Maybe what we ought to do is have the U.N. High Commissioner's statement in its entirety put in the record at this point.

Ambassador CLARK. Yes.

Mr. FASCELL. Without objection we will do that, and you may cite from it.

[The closing remarks of Secretary General Waldheim follow:]

CLOSING REMARKS BY SECRETARY GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM AT THE MEETING  
ON REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen, As we conclude our discussion, I wish to sum up and evaluate the results of our proceedings.

This meeting has been an occasion without precedent in the history of the United Nations. Sixty-five countries concerned with the grave crisis existing in South-East Asia have participated with a view to relieving the plight of hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons.

When the idea of a conference was first launched, there were considerable doubts about its chances of achieving its purpose. There was even the fear that this gathering could stray into a sterile and acrimonious debate which would aggravate even further the political atmosphere surrounding the refugee crisis. I think we can say with gratification that this has not been the case. On the contrary, the very fact that the international community was about to focus its attention on the humanitarian issues in South-East Asia has created a momentum of its own. Before the Conference started, several countries increased substantially the number of resettlement places for refugees and their financial commitments. In addition, intensive contacts took place on a bilateral and multilateral basis to find ways and means of alleviating the suffering of the refugees in the area.

The response during our meeting has been significant. A remarkable spirit of co-operation has marked our deliberations. Many countries have put forward concrete and imaginative proposals. Generous offers of contribution in places of resettlement, in funds, and availabilities for holding centers have been made.

In my judgment, these developments have brought major strides in our efforts to cope with the problem. Indeed, such progress has been required because of the magnitude of suffering in Indo-China and because of the traumatic conditions in which the exodus is taking place. The consequences of this massive movement populations involve not only Indo-China alone, but much of Asia and indeed many countries around the world.

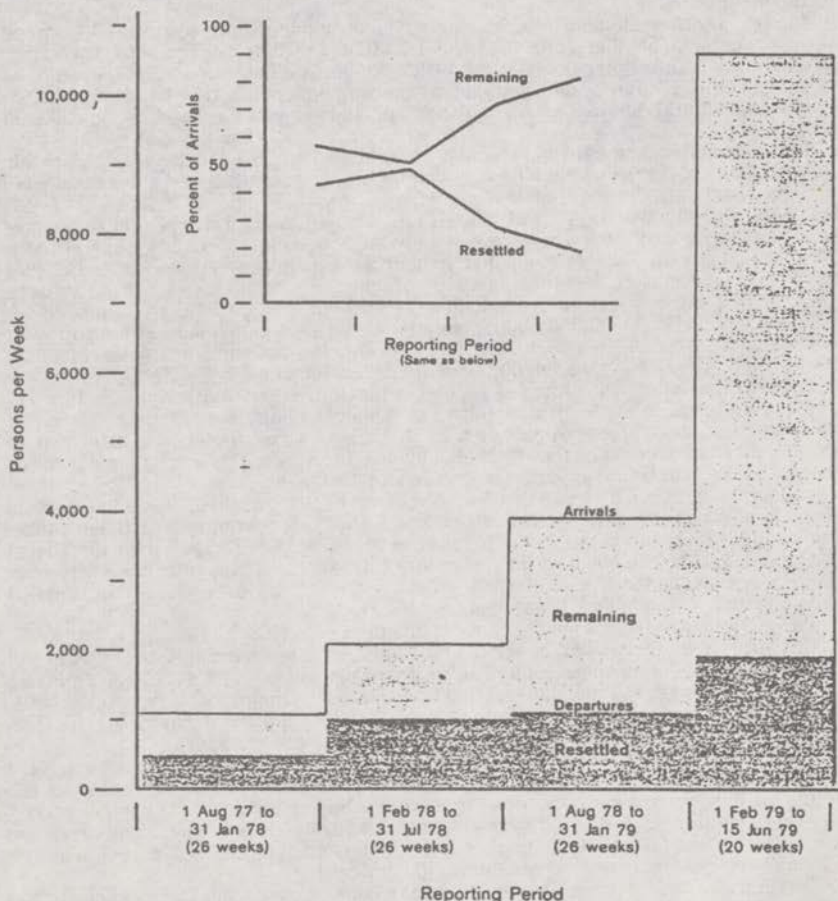
Our purpose at this meeting has been to try to reserve the course of this tragedy, and I believe we are now well on our way to doing so. The most tangible and immediate result of this meeting has been the commitments in regard to resettlement places and financial contributions, which the High Commissioner has just summarized. This will mean, in practical terms, that within the next months tens of thousands of refugees will move away from the present camps to begin new lives. But the scope of the problem is much larger. To resolve it will require humane policies by all concerned, respect for certain fundamental principles, and the carrying out of a plan of action which would be based on the various proposals advanced through our deliberations.



The principles to which I refer involve an inter-relationship of obligations and responsibilities on the part of the countries of origin, those of final resettlement, and those of first asylum. The countries of origin must respect the right of emigration and family reunification, while avoiding any action leading to their people departing the country under conditions which would put their lives in jeopardy. This obligation stems from the basic right of individuals to stay in their country or to leave as a matter of free will. The countries from which refugees come, have the responsibility to co-operate fully with the UNHCR and the other countries concerned to ensure an orderly outflow. What we mean by this is orderly arrangements for departure, the prospect of a safe journey and a destination which is assured.

Taking into account the fact that the countries of first asylum are developing countries confronted with economic and social constraints it is clear that others outside the area must assume the principle responsibility for resettling.

However, pending arrangements for resettling, it is essential that the countries of initial arrival should fully respect the principle of first asylum, both for land and sea refugees. There should be no refoulement.



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Of course, each Government, depending on whether it is a country of origin, of first asylum, or final resettlement, puts the emphasis on different principles. Whereas the countries of first asylum require a definite pledge that they should not be burdened with residual problems and the assurance that no refugees will stay in their country for more than a specific period, the resettlement countries have referred to the need for a degree of local settlements within the region and have offered significant financial contributions to facilitate this process.

I consider this meeting has served a very useful purpose in clarifying and underlining the interdependence between those elements and am confident that they can and will be reconciled within the framework of a comprehensive plan of action.

Certain important aspects of the plan as they have emerged may be highlighted.

First, we must work with the utmost speed to reduce the backlog. This can only be done by resettlement on a far greater scale and much faster than hitherto. It is clearly understood that this movement should cover land cases as well as boat cases. I feel greatly encouraged by the increase in commitments made during this meeting and feel confident that our objective will be substantially achieved.

Second, another element closely related is the understanding reached between the Government of Viet Nam and the UNHCR for the orderly departure from Viet Nam of family reunions and other humanitarian cases. This should be expanded and I have noted that many governments wish this to be done. This expansion should not be at the expense of those in the camps of South-East Asia.

Third, a major breakthrough has been achieved in this meeting on the establishment of holding centers. The measure is one of the pillars of the action plan and as the High Commissioner for Refugees has said, we will follow through immediately. The availability of these facilities can make a direct and important contribution to reducing the dangers now surrounding the exodus of refugees. They will provide a greatly needed transit area pending resettlement. Coupled with assurances that residual cases would not be abandoned in these centers, they should offer a major reassurance to the countries of first asylum. Work will start shortly on the Galang Island offered by Indonesia. The Philippine Government, in a move which has won the appreciation and gratitude of all of us, has offered a new site for 50,000 refugees, to be funded by UNHCR.

Fourth, rescue at sea deserves special attention. I note with appreciation the noble and humane action undertaken by several countries which are sending ships to the area to rescue refugees in distress. As you have been informed by the High Commissioner, the United Nations is taking the leadership in organizing an international co-operative effort in this area.

In conjunction with the plan of action I have just outlined, there are certain situations which deserve special attention. I think, for example, of those suffering people along the border of Kampuchea and Thailand, exposed to the threat of famine, and to the ebb and flow of conflict. I have no doubt that the world community will wish the United Nations family to do whatever it can to alleviate the suffering which afflicts these people.

These, then, are the major elements of the plan of action.

During our deliberations, several additional or supporting proposals were put forward. All these proposals have been noted. Together with the High Commissioner for Refugees, I will study these proposals with utmost care and consult with the Governments concerned on their feasibility. I wish to thank all the Governments for their willingness to come forward with concrete ideas.

We need no reminder of the fact that, however substantial the resettlement programme we shall endeavour to implement, it cannot be successful over the long run without major reduction in the disorderly exodus of thousands of people from their homelands. This is the root cause which has been emphasized so much in the last two days. I am glad that, with infrequent exceptions, this analysis has been generally objective and non-polemical.

Distinguished delegates, as a result of my consultations the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has authorized me to inform you that for a reasonable period of time it will make every effort to stop illegal departures. In the meantime the Government of Viet Nam will co-operate with the UNHCR in expanding the present seven-point programme designed to bring departures into orderly and safe channels.



I may also recall that a proposal was made here, supported by a number of countries, for a moratorium on unorganized departures from Viet Nam.

Distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I have noted with appreciation the many expressions of support for the UNHCR. I am sure that Mr. Hartling and his dedicated staff will draw from these words new encouragement in their untiring efforts to bring relief to the refugees.

I shall personally and through my Special Representative in the area, watch closely the developments following on this meeting. The role of the Special Representative will be, in particular, to maintain close and continuous contact with the Governments concerned and to liaise between them and me.

This meeting has greatly served to strengthen the efforts of UNHCR and I know other agencies of the United Nations system are also ready to intensify their activities as required by the plan of action. I can assure you that I shall do all I can to bring the best possible response from the entire United Nations system. The continued and devoted co-operation of many others, particularly the voluntary agencies, will be indispensable, and I should like to thank them most sincerely for all their efforts.

Distinguished delegates, evidently, the conclusions we have reached at this meeting cannot be the end of our efforts. We will now have to see to it that these conclusions are fully implemented through the United Nations machinery. And it is my intention to present to the next General Assembly a comprehensive report on the situation and the implementation of the action plan. May I again express my gratitude to you for your spirit of co-operation which enabled us to achieve this result. I am confident that we have laid the foundation for the solution of one of the most tragic experiences which the world has faced.

The meeting is hereby closed.

Ambassador CLARK. I am quoting now from just one paragraph of the United Nations High Commissioner's summary, which, of course, came after all the speeches and at the very end of the conference. "As a result of my consultations the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has authorized me to inform you that for a reasonable period of time it will make every effort to stop illegal departures. In the meantime, the Government of Vietnam will cooperate with the UNHCR in expanding the present seven-point program designed to bring departures into orderly and safe channels."

I think Mr. Oakley would like to comment just a bit further on that.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Oakley.

#### **STATEMENT OF ROBERT OAKLEY, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EAST ASIAN AFFAIRS**

Mr. OAKLEY. Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that we have not yet learned the details, nor are we able to assess the significance of the Vietnamese agreement to a moratorium on departures. We don't know how long they intend to make this stick. We assume that there will be some people who will come out in any event.

We certainly do not in any way, as the Vice President made very clear in his speech, wish to associate ourselves with any sort of an understanding which the Vietnamese might use as a cover to inflict still more inhumane treatment upon their people. We will be watching very closely to see how this pledge is translated into action.

We have long supported the idea of regularized departures under safe conditions for those wishing to leave. We wish to end the loss of life at sea and to alleviate the pressures on first asylum countries, but we would view very negatively any attempt by the Vietnamese to use

the moratorium as a sanction for denying the human rights of any Vietnamese, especially those who may express their wishes to leave.

The Vietnamese, in our judgment, have a continuing obligation to recognize their responsibilities under the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to treat their own people humanely, both so that they will not feel compelled to flee and so that those who wish to flee, who wish to leave, can wait for a decent period of time in order to do so and not feel that they must throw themselves on board a ship, give up all their belongings, and bribe their way out of the country, taking a tremendous risk of loss of life in doing so.

So we do not see this moratorium clearly. We think that it could be positive. We are going to cooperate as best we can in trying to promote a regularized flow; but at the same time, we, and I think most of the nations in Geneva, are clearly aware of the Vietnamese background, the Vietnamese track record in treating their people.

The Vice President was very clear on this in terms of our going along with the moratorium and lines of regularized departure; that it cannot be used as an excuse for the continued inhumane treatment of people.

Mr. FASCELL. Does the United States plan any bilateral discussions with the Vietnamese on the issue? Or is that going to be ad hoc?

Mr. OAKLEY. Mr. Chairman, we have spoken to the Vietnamese on several occasions concerning this issue. We have also spoken to the Soviets. We have made our position very clear, publicly, and privately, and we will continue to do so, making exactly these same points.

Mr. FASCELL. I want to correct the record at this point. The citation you just read is from the Secretary General's statement.

Ambassador CLARK. Yes.

Mr. FASCELL. And that is the statement we will put in the record.

Also, we should have the statement of Vice President Mondale and of the U.N. High Commissioner, Mr. Hartling, at this point, for the record.

[The statements of Vice President Mondale and the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees follow:]

#### STATEMENT OF VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE TO THE U.N. CONFERENCE ON INDOCHINESE REFUGEES

GENEVA, July 21—Following is the text of a speech prepared for delivery by Vice President Walter F. Mondale to the U.N. Conference on Indochinese Refugees at the Palais des Nations here.

"Once again the countries of the world turn to the United Nations. When problems touch the whole human community, no other forum provides a vision more encompassing. When national interests conflict and collide, no institution convenes us with greater moral authority. The United Nations is often criticized, and sometimes even maligned. But the common ground it provides us deserves our thanks and our praise. On behalf of the United States—and, I believe, on behalf of all nations in the world community—I thank Secretary-General Waldheim and High Commissioner Hartling for their leadership in convening us here today.

Mr. Secretary-General, some tragedies defy the imagination. Some misery so surpasses the grasp of reason that language itself breaks beneath the strain. Instead, we gasp for metaphors. Instead, we speak the inaudible dialect of the human heart.

Today we confront such a tragedy. In virtually all the world's languages, desperate new expressions have been born. 'A barbed-wire bondage,' 'an archi-



pelago of despair,' 'a flood-tide of human misery': with this new coinage our language is enriched, and our civilization is impoverished.

'The boat people.' 'The land people.' The phrases are new, but unfortunately their precedent in the annals of shame is not. Forty-one years ago this very week, another international conference on Lake Geneva concluded its deliberations. Thirty-two 'nations of asylum' convened at Evian to save the doomed Jews of Nazi Germany and Austria. On the eve of the conference, Hitler flung the challenge in the world's face. He said, 'I can only hope that the other world, which has such deep sympathy for these criminals will at least be generous enough to convert this sympathy into practical aid.' We have each heard similar arguments about the plight of the refugees in Indochina.

At stake at Evian were both human lives—and the decency and self-respect of the civilized world. If each nation at Evian had agreed on that day to take in 17,000 Jews at once, every Jew in the Reich could have been saved. As one American observer wrote, 'It is heartbreaking to think of the . . . desperate human beings . . . waiting in suspense for what happens at Evian. But the question they underline is not simply humanitarian. . . . It is a test of civilization.'

At Evian, they began with high hopes. But they failed the test of civilization. The civilized world hid in the cloak of legalisms. Two nations said they had reached the saturation point for Jewish refugees. Four nations said they would accept experienced agricultural workers only. One would only accept immigrants who had been baptized. Three declared intellectuals and merchants to be undesirable new citizens. One nation feared that an influx of Jews would arouse antisemitic feelings. And one delegate said this: 'As we have no real racial problem, we are not desirous of importing one.'

As the delegates left Evian, Hitler again goaded 'the other world' for 'oozing sympathy for the poor, tormented people, but remaining hard and obdurate when it comes to helping them.' Days later, the 'final solution to the Jewish problem' was conceived, and soon the night closed in.

Let us not re-enact their error. Let us not be the heirs to their shame.

To alleviate the tragedy in Southeast Asia, we all have a part to play. The United States is committed doing its share, just as we have done for generations. 'Mother of exiles' it says on the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty at the port of New York. The American people have already welcomed over 200,000 Indochinese. Their talent and their energies immeasurably enrich our nation.

We are preparing to welcome another 168,000 refugees in the coming year. The governors and the Members of Congress in our delegation—as well as outstanding religious and civic leaders throughout America—are a symbol of the enduring commitment of President Carter and the American people.

Many nations represented here have risen to history's test, accepting substantial numbers of refugees. The ASEAN states, China, and Hong Kong have offered safety and asylum to over half a million refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea since 1975. And others have opened their doors.

But the growing exodus from Indochina still outstrips international efforts. We must work together, or the suffering will mount. Unless we all do more, the risk of fresh conflict will arise and the stability of Southeast Asia will erode. Unless this conference gives birth to new commitments, and not simply new metaphors, we will inherit the scorn of Evian. It is a time for action, not words.

I would like to outline seven areas where action is needed.

First and foremost, the fundamental responsibility must rest with the authorities of Indochina, particularly the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. That government is failing to ensure the human rights of its people. Its callous and irresponsible policies are compelling countless citizens to forsake everything they treasure, to risk their lives, and to flee into the unknown.

There must be an immediate moratorium on the further expulsion of people from Vietnam. We must stop the drownings and establish a human emigration program. The policy of expulsion which has led to so many tragic deaths must end. It must be replaced by a policy which enables those who wish to leave their homes to do so—in safety, and by choice and in an orderly manner.

At the same time, we must not forget the land people driven from their homeland by conflict and foreign invasion. The nations of the world must promote a political settlement in Kampuchea. The survival of a whole people is in grave doubt. Neither the Pol Pot nor Hang Samrin regimes represents the Cambodian people. The conflict, and the human tragedy in its wake, must stop. The international community must not tolerate forced expulsion of entire populations,

I call on all governments to allow normal free emigration and family reunification. My government supports efforts to negotiate a program of orderly direct departures from Vietnam—but not at the expense of those in camps elsewhere in Southeast Asia already awaiting resettlement.

Second, I urge the countries of first asylum to continue to provide temporary safe haven to all refugees. The compassion these nations have shown earn them the respect and admiration of the world's community. But these nations cannot bear this responsibility alone. We call on them to persist in their spirit of humanity so that our common effort can proceed.

Therefore, third, the rest of us must provide assurances to first-asylum countries that the refugees will find new homes within a reasonable period of time. To meet this objective, we call on all nations to double their resettlement commitment, as the United States has already done. Moreover, we must all be prepared to commit ourselves to multi-year resettlement programs—for the problem will not be solved quickly. The United States government is now seeking that authority.

Fourth, each of us must make a greater contribution to the relief efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The UNHCR will need increased resources now and in the coming years to care for growing refugee populations, and to alleviate the misery in refugee camps. The UNHCR may require an estimated \$400 million for its Indochina programs in 1980.

To do our part to help, I am privileged to announce today that my government will ask our congress to allocate \$105 million for those programs—more than double our current effort. We are also ready to assign highly qualified Peace Corps volunteers to work in the camps in Southeast Asia—to work not only with the individual countries, but also in the programs of the UN High Commissioner. We urge other nations to undertake similar programs of support.

Fifth, it is essential that we relieve pressures on existing camps and create a network of new transit centers for refugees destined for permanent resettlement elsewhere. Given the magnitude of the refugee population, such centers must accommodate at least 250,000 refugees. My government has endorsed the initiative of the ASEAN states for UN-sponsored refugee processing centers. President Carter applauds the government of the Philippines for the bold and exemplary steps it has taken—a model of responsible world leadership. Today I am especially pleased to announce that we are requesting more than \$20 million from the Congress to finance our share of such new UNHCR facilities.

Sixth, we must extend refugee resettlement to nations who are ready to receive them—but who do not have the resources to do so. Today, on behalf of the United States government, I propose the creation of an international Refugee Resettlement Fund. If other nations join us, we will ask our Congress for contributions to the Fund totalling \$20 million for the first year. We ask today that other nations match us. We recommend that the Fund be capitalized at \$200 million. This Fund could, for example, endow an international corporation which would help developing countries embark on their planning and secure additional resources for this humanitarian purpose.

Seventh, and above all, we must act to protect the lives of those who seek safety. The United States is acting vigorously to save refugees from exposure and starvation and drowning and death at sea. As Commander-in-Chief of the military, the President of the United States has dramatically strengthened his orders to our Navy to help the drowning and the desperate. Today the President has ordered four additional ships from the Military Sealift Command to be dispatched to the South China Sea—where they will be available both to transport tens of thousands of refugees from camps to refugee processing centers, and to assist refugees at sea. At the same time, the President has also ordered long-range Navy aircraft to fly patrols to locate and seek help for refugee boats in distress. And the President is asking our private shipping industry and unions to persist with their time-honored efforts to help refugees at sea. We appeal to other governments to do the same—and to accept for resettlement those who are picked up.

Mr. Secretary-General, fellow delegates, in conclusion let me reiterate two points.

First, the international community must not tolerate this forced expulsion. We call upon Vietnam to cease those policies which condemn so many to flee. There must be an immediate moratorium on expulsions.

The freedom to emigrate is a fundamental human right. But no nation is blind to the difference between free emigration and forced exodus. Let us impose a moratorium on that exodus. Let us have a breathing spell during which all of



us—governments, voluntary agencies, and private individuals alike—mobilize our generosity and relieve the human misery. And let us urge the government of Vietnam to honor the inalienable human rights at the core of every civilized society.

Second, our children will deal harshly with us if we fail. The conference at Evian forty-one years ago took place amidst the same comfort and beauty we enjoy at our own deliberations today. One observer at those proceedings—moved by the contrast between the setting and the task—said this:

"These poor people and these great principles seem so far away. To one who has attended other conferences on Lake Geneva, the most striking thing on the eve of this one is that the atmosphere is so much like the others.

Let us not be like the others. Let us renounce that legacy of shame. Let us reach beyond metaphor. Let us honor the moral principles we inherit. Let us do something meaningful—something profound—to stem this misery. We face a world problem. Let us fashion a world solution.

History will not forgive us if we fail. History will not forget us if we succeed.

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STATEMENT OF HON. POUL HARTLING, U.N. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES  
(JULY 21, 1979)

Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished delegates, it is now apparent that, with this Meeting, the international community has moved into a new phase in its efforts to resolve the problem of the Indochinese refugees. It is a phase in which new hope is provided to all who have grappled with this problem. Above all, it is a phase in which the refugees themselves will know that the international community has not abandoned them.

We have heard a series of most remarkable statements that have emphatically reaffirmed the humanitarian commitment of the international community. This is of great consequence—to the Indochinese refugees and to the millions of other refugees throughout the world. As the High Commissioner for Refugees, may I express my gratitude. May I also say how deeply thankful I am for the many kind words addressed to my staff and to me personally. You can count on our every effort.

Of course, the greater the commitment, the greater the responsibility to honour it.

In the weeks immediately prior to this Meeting, and in the course of it, we have been informed of a truly dramatic increase in the number of resettlement places available for the refugees. These have risen from 125,000 at the end of May, to 260,000 today. Many Governments have indicated their intention to act with the greatest possible speed to move the refugees to their new homes. This is exactly what we wished. We were moving over 10,000 persons a month from the area. As soon as possible, we shall now try to move 20-30,000 each month. That is some 1,000 persons a day should move to new lives. Such an action will give the reassurance that all concerned need.

I am particularly grateful to those Governments that have announced on-going commitments. Such indispensable commitments enable planning over the longer-term. I shall monitor resettlement needs for as long as the problem lasts. Governments will be kept informed, on a regular basis, of the requirements.

To make sure that we act with the utmost urgency, UNHCR is already preparing a technical plan to ensure co-ordination on all practical aspects relating to the onward movement. The purpose is to generate a rapid and systematic rate of departure and to utilize the new commitments to the maximum effect. To this end, I am calling an immediate working meeting at the technical level, of countries that have made resettlement offers. The opportunities must be used in a way that makes a clear impact on each of the areas where the refugees are presently located.

A major offer has been made in this Meeting for a Holding Centre that will accommodate a minimum of 50,000 persons. This is in addition to two earlier offers. A senior UNHCR team has been designated to follow-up on all aspects of such proposals. They are ready to work, with the Governments concerned, without delay.

A most significant proposal has been made in regard to a major Fund for achieving permanent solutions. This is a need that we had increasingly felt. It could be of great help to our efforts on behalf of refugees in all developing countries throughout the world. We have started examining the technical aspects re-

lating to such a Fund and I shall present proposals to my Executive Committee early in October. I am grateful that, already, some US \$25 million have been announced, in principle, for this purpose.

In regard to our financial needs for the Indochinese refugees, I am most heartened by the new announcements of pledges totalling some U.S. \$160 million in cash and kind. It should be clearly understood that this amount includes pledges, some of which are subject to parliamentary approval. It also includes certain funds earmarked for 1980. These announcements will considerably ease the financial situation and enable my Office not only to continue the basic programme, but also start meeting costs relating to Processing and Holding Centres. As soon as the precise costing elements are identified, I shall be in further touch with Governments for any additional funds that are required.

There have been many interesting comments on the programme of orderly departures from Viet Nam. Such movements should in no way detract from the priority to those in the camps of South East Asia. However, this programme has the possibility of contributing significantly to an easing of the humanitarian problems in the region and must, therefore, develop. Much will depend on the care and understanding with which this effort is conducted. We are ready to do our share.

On the grave problem of rescue at sea, many critically important commitments have been made, for which I am indeed grateful. I am in touch with the Secretary-General of the International Maritime Consultative Organization with whom in the past I have issued joint appeals concerning this matter. I propose to arrange a meeting of experts very shortly in order to concert certain practical steps that could be considered by Governments and interested organizations in a position to help.

Distinguished delegates, in these brief comments I have summarized the status of commitments as these now stand. I have also indicated certain of the practical measures that we shall take in urgent follow up of this meeting.

This vast effort will draw on the energies and ideals of thousands of persons—in Governments, within the U.N. system, and in the non-governmental sector. In this connection, I am deeply appreciative of the Governmental offers to place staff at our disposal to help in this immense task. I have already spoken of the technical meetings we propose to convene in relation to specific aspects of the problem. Further, a standing co-ordinating mechanism will group together our colleagues in the U.N. system, ICES, the ICRC and League of Red Cross Societies and others in the non-governmental sector.

Distinguished delegates, our follow-up will be equal to the challenge. Within ten weeks, the thirtieth session of my Executive Committee will be held in Geneva. It will give us an opportunity to review thoroughly the progress made, and to pin-point what further needs to be done. Thereafter I report to the General Assembly in November. Within these four months, much must be achieved.

With these remarks, may I reiterate my gratitude to the Secretary-General, who will now sum-up our proceedings. May I, finally, convey to you and to all others engaged in this great humanitarian endeavour, the thanks of the refugees.

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SUMMARY OF SPEECHES AT PLENARY SESSION OF U.N. CONFERENCE ON REFUGEES,  
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, JULY 21, 1979

Subject: UN/SYG Refugee Meeting: July 21 Morning Session

1. SUMMARY

Australia, New Zealand, Argentina and Luxembourg all announced increases in their intake of Indochinese refugees. The Soviet Union criticized those countries cutting aid to the SRV because of the refugee problem and said that the flow is being caused by outside instigation. End summary.

2. AUSTRALIA

Immigration Minister Mackellar said that Australia will increase its resettlement program to 14,000 this year for a total of 37,000 Indochinese refugees accepted by Australia by June 1980, at which time there will be one Indochinese



for every 390 Australians. Mackellar also announced that Australia is providing five million dollars US to the UNHCR and countries of first asylum. Mackellar called for more resettlement offers and said that Australia cannot absorb Indochinese refugees effectively at any higher rates. Mackellar also expressed support for an international fund to assist developing countries to settle Indochinese refugees. Mackellar said that Australia favors food support and an end to the fighting in Cambodia, which requires a program of political action. Mackellar stressed that there must be a change in the policies provoking the refugee crisis and that he regrets the SRV statement in the meeting contained no promise of changed behavior. Mackellar said that each resettlement nation must be free to admit refugees in the numbers and at the rates it chooses.

### 3. NEW ZEALAND

Immigration Under Secretary Malcolm said that in addition to the 900 refugees being accepted in 1979, New Zealand will accept 1800 more by June 1981 by which time it will be among the first five nations by capita in resettling Indochinese refugees (one refugee per 1000 New Zealand citizens). Malcolm said that Vietnam must understand that its present policies are unacceptable.

### 4. FINLAND

Foreign Minister Vayrynen said that Finland was providing one million dollars US to the UNHCR and that it will select some Indochinese refugees over the next few weeks.

### 5. USSR

Deputy Foreign Minister Firyubin said that the Soviet Union favors the UNHCR seven point plan for orderly departures from Vietnam. He alluded to the "heavy heritage" that Vietnam faces in building a new society and asserted that Soviet aid is helping to remove some of the causes of the refugee exodus. Firyubin also said that the flow of refugees from Vietnam is at the "instigation" of those outside. He said the main burden for refugees should fall on those whom they "had served or serviced." Firyubin attacked the cutting of aid to the SRV over the refugee crisis and criticized the "neighbor on the north" for aggravating the problem and freezing economic aid. He expressed dissatisfaction that the Lao and Khmer delegations were not seated.

### 6. LUXEMBOURG

Ambassador Retterl expressed support for a moratorium on expulsion of refugees and said that Luxembourg will double its acceptance of Indochinese refugees from 50 to 100, while also substantially increasing its contribution to the UNHCR.

### 7. HOLY SEE

Msgr. Backis said that the Vatican strongly supports the right to leave one's country as well as the principle of first asylum. He said that the Catholic Church wishes to be more active in helping on the Indochinese refugee problem and urged all nations to do their utmost to save refugees on the high seas.

### 8. ARGENTINA

Foreign Minister Pastor said that Argentina is prepared to accept 1000 Indochinese refugee families (4-5000 people). Argentina will also send physicians to the Indochinese camps.

### 9. KOREA

Ambassador No Sin-Yong announced that Korea will contribute an additional 4.8 million dollars to the UNHCR for Indochinese refugees.

### 10. PAKISTAN

Ambassador Marker endorsed the concept of refugee processing centers. Pakistan will contribute for the relief of Afghan refugees. Pakistan also offered expertise in helping with refugee problems.

## 11. GREECE

Ambassador Metaxas pledged that Greece would accept an additional 150 refugees and is encouraging its ships to rescue boat people without a requirement to disembark them at the first port of call.

## 12. TUNISIA

The Tunisian minister of health called for a solution to the deep-rooted causes of Indochinese refugees as well as attention to refugees elsewhere in the world. He criticized Israel for making much of its acceptance of a few Indochinese refugees while "having caused" 2 million refugees (Palestinians).

## 13. YUGOSLAVIA

Ambassador Vrhunec said that the meeting was properly focused on the humanitarian aspects of the problem and that first asylum should continue to be granted. He also noted that China has taken "large numbers" of refugees. Vrhunec commended the agreement between the SRV and the UNHCR for orderly departures and said that Yugoslavia is prepared to earmark goods for refugees in Southeast Asia.

## 14. CHILE

Ambassador Gunther said that he wished that the Geneva meeting had been held earlier and that Chile which has already increased its UNHCR contribution by one third, will make an additional increase.

## 15. MEXICO

Ambassador Le Clainche said that Mexico is not in a position to resettle Indochinese refugees considering its acceptance of Nicaraguan refugees and its high population growth rate.

## HONG KONG

Referring to a drastic drop in arrivals in the past several days, HK Governor Maclehorse expressed hope that if this is Hanoi's "doing," and it portends a permanent trend rather than merely a negotiating tactic for the meeting, then Hong Kong has basis for some hope. It will adopt a "wait and see" attitude, however. Maclehorse implicitly criticized the UNHCR for registering and caring for only 15,000 of the 66,000 refugees no win HK and noted that by the end of the year the HKG will have spent upwards of \$20 million for refugee care and maintenance. He thanked the U.S., Canada and others for their "magnificent" help, but questioned why Hong Kong does not receive a larger share in the apportionment of refugees resettled out of S.E.A.

## PORTUGAL

Delegate noted Macao has long been a haven for refugees in the area; that there are 3,500 there now; and that consideration is now being given to raising to 5,000 the ceiling of refugees who could be on the island in transit status. Portugal's current poor economic situation and its reabsorption of over one-half million people from former colonies precludes resettlement of any Indochinese refugees, he said.

## ICELAND

Delegate said that the number of boat people who have perished at sea probably exceeds Iceland's total population. Iceland has never received any refugees from other than the European area. It will now, however, commence resettlement of about 30 Indochinese and will increase its contribution to the UNHCR by 50 percent.

## PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Delegate applauded Indonesian and Philippine RPC offers; called on Hanoi to cease policies that compel people to leave; urged countries that provide aid to Vietnam to divert it to refugee assistance; agreed to contribute up to \$300,000 to the UNHCR to help construct RPC's; said the PNG will not accept refugees on either a first asylum or a resettlement basis.



## INDIA

Delegate applauded efforts to ensure that meeting not engage in contentious political debate. Said India is considering making a contribution (amount not specified) to the UNHCR.

## IRAN

Described difficult economic situation it faces in wake of overthrow of "repressive" regime. Despite this, Iran will give \$90,000 to the UNHCR Indochinese refugee program. Described donation as only a symbolic gesture which would have to do until Iran gets back on its feet economically.

## TURKEY

Delegate drew attention to the threat to the political and social life of the first asylum country resulting from the refugee exodus. Congratulated first asylum countries for having taken in as many refugees as they have. Supported idea of an international refugee resettlement fund.

## TANZANIA

Delegate took firm issue with what Tanzania considers is current over-emphasis on the Indochinese refugees at a time when there are so many refugees in Africa. Agreed that it is necessary to deal with the roots of the problem, but asserted that they have nothing to do with S.E.A. because the basic issue is the "big power" confrontation and political maneuvering over Indochina. Attacked Western support of governments in southern Africa. Offered to provide expertise on refugee camp management and said that any refugee resettlement fund also should apply to areas outside S.E.A.

## VIETNAM

In 2 written statements released to the meeting, the Vietnamese delegate criticized the speech by Vice President Mondale as having been a political statement which did not stick to the humanitarian issues. The speech, furthermore, was designed to divert attention from the fact that the U.S. had dropped 14 million tons of bombs on Vietnam. Noted that U.S. had drawn up a plan to bring about the forced exodus of from one to two million south Vietnamese and use them for long-term sabotage against the SRV. With regard to China, the Vietnamese delegation "categorically rejected" the calumnious allegations of the Chinese delegate.

UNHCR Hartling and Unsyg Waldheim closing statements reported septels.

Mr. FASCELL. If you could just briefly tell us what that is, we will have some better idea.

Ambassador CLARK. The High Commissioner's statement was really a summary of the commitments that had been made in Geneva, both before the conference and during the conference. So it is a three- or four-page statement which lists the accomplishments, the 260,000 resettlement offers, the amount of money that was raised, the suggestion for a permanent resettlement fund for developing countries, and proposals and ideas of that kind.

Mr. FASCELL. The U.N. High Commissioner has the responsibility for supervision and maintenance of refugee camps?

Ambassador CLARK. That is correct.

Mr. FASCELL. And also for resettlement?

Ambassador CLARK. They do, indeed, and for protection of those refugees. It should be understood, however, that because of the small number of personnel that they have, they do not, in fact, operate the camps. The camps themselves are under the jurisdiction, so to speak—

Mr. FASCELL. Of the host government?

Ambassador CLARK. Exactly. Under their sovereignty.

Mr. FASCELL. So the two phases of this program are the international program through the U.N. High Commissioner, which involves the camps and resettlement; and the resettlement through the U.S. bilateral program of those refugees who are going to come to the United States.

Ambassador CLARK. I think that is the most accurate way to state it.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Tell me about sponsors for those coming to the United States. How does that stand?

Ambassador CLARK. The interesting thing is our refugee program is operated almost entirely by voluntary agencies, primarily church organizations and some other voluntary agencies. In fact, when the UNHCR completes processing of refugees into a camp, then voluntary agencies, even in the field, international voluntary agencies, begin to work with these refugees to process refugees along with the few Government officials, INS authorities, and people from the Department of State.

Then a cable is sent back to New York to the joint voluntary agencies, and they in turn find families to sponsor particular refugees identified in the camps. Thus, when a voluntary agency said we will resettle this family and we have a home somewhere in the country, the Southeast Asian camps are notified. These people are cleared in the process and brought to the United States and delivered immediately to that family.

It is a system which has worked remarkably well. For one thing, the voluntary agencies have, frankly, picked up the majority of the financial load on resettling people. And secondly, they have been so successful at this that the complaints we tend to get over the last several months are that they want more refugees, they have homes, they are ready for these people, and they want to come now.

So, unlike many situations in the world, the people of this country have volunteered over and over again in larger and larger numbers to take these people, so that we have more resettlement offers than we have so far been able to begin to fulfill.

I might say that the State and city governments are in many cases doing the same thing. Governor Ray of Iowa, I know, appeared before a committee here suggesting Iowa was prepared to take an additional 1,500 refugees under the circumstances, and many other Governors have been responsive as well.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Solarz.

Mr. SOLARZ. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Ambassador, it was my impression that we have given the Vietnamese a list of 5,000 names of people who are the immediate relatives of Vietnamese who are in our own country.

Ambassador CLARK. That is correct.

Mr. SOLARZ. Do we have any additional lists we have not yet turned over to them of people who meet this description of immediate relative?

Ambassador CLARK. We are receiving lists from around the country, from relatives around the United States, on a daily basis. It is my understanding that we are receiving about 250 additional names per day which are available for this purpose as well.



Mr. SOLARZ. I was given to believe, and I don't know whether this is correct, that some of the voluntary organizations, particularly the Catholic ones, have a list of about 100,000 Vietnamese who are the immediate relatives of Vietnamese who are in our country. Do you know anything about that?

Ambassador CLARK. I had not heard of that before; no.

Mr. SOLARZ. If such names were given to the Department, you would, presumably, after making the necessary determinations, make them available to Vietnam.

Ambassador CLARK. Certainly. If they qualify on the same basis, they would be added. We are going to do everything in our power to make this system work.

Mr. SOLARZ. Right. We are, of course, concerned not only that there be an orderly flow of refugees coming out of Vietnam but that there be a flow. I have no doubt that there are a lot of countries which would be quite happy to see no one else come out because they wouldn't have the burden, but I think we have a commitment to making it possible for those who want to leave to leave.

Ambassador CLARK. Absolutely.

Mr. SOLARZ. Have we any assurances from Vietnam that in the process of "regulating the flow," which I gather they have indicated they would do, that they would continue to permit sizable numbers to leave.

Ambassador CLARK. We have no such commitment. I think as soon as we get beyond the statement in the summary that I have read into the record, the rest is speculation. There is, as you know, in that statement, the last sentence referring to the fact that they will support the UNHCR seven-point program of a regularization of the flow. That is really all that we have at this point.

But I think it is important that we do everything in our power to make this succeed. Thus, we are assigning consular officers, and thus we are providing loan funds for people for air transportation out, and so forth.

Mr. SOLARZ. But we are making it clear to Vietnam that we want the maximum number it is possible to handle in an orderly way to be able to leave if that is in fact what people want to do?

Ambassador CLARK. Indeed.

Mr. SOLARZ. Can you give us some indication of what the status is of our efforts to persuade the Indonesians and the Chinese to establish temporary processing centers on their territory?

Ambassador CLARK. We are working, of course, with countries throughout the area to encourage them to open refugee processing centers, large refugee processing centers. I would not single any particular one out because we want to encourage each of the countries in that area to make this consideration.

As you know, the first large island to be offered is in the Philippines. The Indonesians had offered Galang Island, in the Philippines, Tara Island, but we are trying to urge each of these countries to do everything possible to try to make larger areas available.

Mr. SOLARZ. Are you hopeful that any other countries besides the Philippines will be forthcoming?

Ambassador CLARK. I think it is too early to be certain of that.

Mr. SOLARZ. In one of the bilateral meetings we had in Geneva with the Chinese Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, he indicated that it might be useful if we were willing to establish a refugee processing center on our own territory as a way of inducing others to follow suit. I know that on a cost-effectiveness basis, establishing such a center, say, in Guam is not necessarily in abstract terms the best way to proceed.

But it would seem to me that if, in fact, we are in a better position to get China, say, to set up such a camp for 200,000 refugees by establishing a camp of our own, say, for 10,000 refugees as a symbolic demonstration of our willingness to bear part of this aspect of the burden, that it might well serve our long-term purposes to do so.

I wonder if you could give us some sense of whether this seems to be a sensible analysis.

Ambassador CLARK. First of all, I would not want to exclude any such possibility in the future because I think we have to keep all of the options open. But you have struck upon one of the two points that trouble us, and that is that the costs of maintaining refugees in Southeast Asia presently is about \$1.25 per person per day.

We have looked at the cost for such a camp in Guam, and the lowest figure we can come up with is \$7 per person per day. So that it does become very costly by comparison, and particularly if this were to require us to cut back on our resettlement or other programs we have put forth, we think it would not be a good investment.

Second, the interpretation is that if they were brought onto American soil, they would have to be counted immediately against our quota of 14,000 a month or 168,000 a year. If that were the case, we really wouldn't gain much. I think it would be a setback. It is better to bring them immediately to the sponsors, and resettle them, I think.

Again, I say I don't think we want to rule out any future alternatives in terms of what might be done.

Mr. SOLARZ. You are asking, I gather, for an amendment to the foreign aid appropriations bill which is coming before the House today and tomorrow to provide these additional funds. I wonder if you could let us know why you favor that route rather than a supplemental, particularly in view of the fact that the money has not yet been authorized by the authorizing committee?

Ambassador CLARK. I discussed yesterday with Chairman Long the advantages of this particular approach and will be appearing before his committee at 12 o'clock today to talk about many of the same issues we are talking about here in terms of money.

The advantage is that if it could be included in the pending foreign assistance bill, we would have the appropriations in hand to pursue all of the programs we are discussing here today. If it is not possible to put it in the Foreign Assistance Act, it means that we would have to come back, I assume in January, for a supplemental appropriation, just as we did this year, a bit later.

The difficulty is that the fiscal year 1979 supplemental appropriation passed, I believe, yesterday. So almost the 1st of August. If that were to occur next year, our refugee program would have to end by about March. In other words, we would have only about one-half as much money as we would need to implement these programs. Thus, our programs across the board would have to end by sometime in March.



Mr. SOLARZ. Do you have the administrative ability to frontload the program if, in fact, this money is not added to the current bill and you are dependent upon a subsequent supplemental?

Ambassador CLARK. We do not have the authority to do that. We would come back to the appropriate congressional committees for reprogramming. Without that reprogramming, of course, we could not run very long at all.

Mr. SOLARZ. Let me point out to you one possible problem you might have. I think an amendment might be subject to a point of order on the ground it has not yet been authorized.

Mr. FASCELL. We are going to meet in the committee on Friday to authorize it.

Mr. SOLARZ. Let me say I am delighted to hear that, Mr. Chairman, because I know that when Dante Fascell sets his mind to something, somehow or another it gets done. But there is the following parliamentary problem. First, the amendment may be offered before the committee acts.

Mr. FASCELL. I doubt it. I would hope that someone has sense enough not to do that.

Mr. SOLARZ. The gentlewoman from New York has already sent out a—

Mr. FASCELL. She is very intelligent and very sensitive. I am sure she would not—

Mr. SOLARZ. There is another problem. Even if the committee has acted first, my understanding, based upon a discussion with the parliamentarian on another analogous matter, is that until such time as an authorization is actually enacted into law for parliamentary purposes with respect to an appropriation, it is not considered authorized first.

So that unless you get—

Mr. FASCELL. Not for expenditure purposes, no. We are aware of all the "ifs." We are going to try to move over them if we can, if the gentleman from New York will help us.

Mr. SOLARZ. I certainly will do everything I can, but I think this is something you want to be concerned about. That is why I think it is essential to have Chairman Long's support on this.

Now, assuming, for whatever the reason, parliamentary or political, you cannot get this into this appropriations bill, is there any reason you couldn't get a supplemental after the recess, in September?

Ambassador CLARK. Of course, that would be entirely up to the two bodies. Physically it could be done, theoretically.

Mr. SOLARZ. I would assume that would be your second preference. In other words, your first preference is to get it in the appropriations bill now. If that doesn't work—

Ambassador CLARK. Well, there is one other possible approach. If the Senate added an amendment to the appropriations bill, obviously when it came back to conference, it could be accepted by the House. But that would be the only other alternative of which I am aware.

Mr. SOLARZ. One final question, Mr. Ambassador. Have you given any thought to the possibility that we might follow the example set by Canada whereby we would provide that in addition to the 168,000 that will be coming in under the quota for Southeast Asia, that if for any other refugee there is an American sponsor willing to pay the cost of their transportation and to assume the financial responsibility for

any costs that they may incur once they get there, thereby creating a situation where there is no danger they would become a public charge, thereby not adding any additional cost to the budget, that we would be willing to permit such refugees, assuming they are otherwise eligible for entry?

I gather this is the approach the Canadians have taken, and I would think that there would be an outpouring of support for such a voluntary undertaking throughout our country if it were made permissible to bring refugees in in such a fashion.

Ambassador CLARK. I think it is worth considering. I did talk with the Secretary of External Affairs in Geneva about the way in which this system operated, and we have made arrangements to try to learn more about that program, to see exactly how it works and to make a judgment on that.

Mr. SOLARZ. I would like to encourage you to look at it sympathetically because I think potentially it would provide us with an opportunity to substantially increase the numbers we bring in. And if, God forbid, there is another mass outflow in the next few months, whether it is from Cambodia, Vietnam, or both, it may well be that the patience of the countries of first asylum will be strained, once again, beyond the breaking point, and unless we can bring in substantially increased numbers, we could have a catastrophe on our hands.

This might be a way of responding to it. I would think if we could get communities all over this country, which I think we could, who would be willing to sponsor such refugees without adding any cost to our Treasury, that it would not only be tremendously useful to these people whose lives might otherwise be lost, but I think it would have tremendous value for our own country in the process.

Ambassador CLARK. We will evaluate it carefully.

Mr. SOLARZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I have just one question. Getting back to some of those figures you cited earlier of the refugees in various countries, does our breakdown include the statistics as to their backgrounds; that is, how many are ethnic Chinese, how many are Cambodians or Vietnamese, how many are indigenous tribesmen? Have we any figures as to that kind of breakdown?

Ambassador CLARK. We do have some rough figures, Congressman Derwinski. For example, the Hong Kong Government has kept very careful figures. I would not represent the flow that went north to Hong Kong as representing the whole group, but it is the only place we have, I think, absolute figures. They say that 88 percent of those who have arrived in Hong Kong—which is now close to 70,000—are ethnic Chinese, and that 65 percent of their total load have come from North Vietnam, not from South Vietnam, which is an interesting fact. Obviously, the people in the north would tend to go to Hong Kong.

But it does reveal, I think, that this is not just something that is happening in South Vietnam. It is happening in the north, as well. If you look at very broad estimates in other parts of Southeast Asia, we think that about 60 percent to two-thirds are Sino-Vietnamese.

With regard to the individual groups, there are now in camps in Thailand about 75,000 Hmong tribesmen from Laos and about 75,000 from lowland Laos.



Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you.

Mr. FASCELL. Ambassador, while the plight of the boat people is understandably very much in the public eye and their condition is deplorable, it seems to me equally as deplorable that we have long-term residents of refugee camps. My own feeling is that while refugee camps are necessary, the priority has to be to lessen the load on the refugee camps and take the pressure off, and also to shorten the time of stay in those camps. Otherwise, the camps really serve no useful purpose.

But I assume that what we have in mind is that all camps are in effect resettlement camps for short-term stay.

Ambassador CLARK. That is correct.

Mr. FASCELL. And that the whole program, both the international one under the U.N. High Commissioner and our bilateral one, is to strive to shorten the length of stay of a person in a resettlement camp.

Ambassador CLARK. Correct.

Mr. FASCELL. And I imagine one of the major moves that will be made immediately, or reasonably soon, will be to lessen the load on a number of people in Thailand camps. Do we have any estimates as to the flow out of that camp for resettlement purposes? And does the present thinking contemplate moving 50,000 people out of those camps to a new resettlement camp? Or will the new resettlement camp be filled with new people?

Ambassador CLARK. Well, our understanding would be that Thailand would be included. That was agreed to at a meeting in Djakarta in May regarding refugee processing centers and their establishment.

I might say that the arrivals are still far outstripping the departures in those land refugees in Thailand. We are making a special effort to try to move larger numbers of land refugees. This month, for example, we hope to go from a June total of about 3,000 land refugees to a total of about 5,000 land refugees.

I am sorry. It is pointed out to me that the total of 3,000 represents not just American resettlements but the total departures out of those land camps headed for the United States, France, and other countries. I believe this total will be almost doubled in the July totals and in the future figures.

Mr. FASCELL. Is there any timetable estimated with respect to the opening of the first new resettlement camp?

Ambassador CLARK. No; we believe that it is possible to open the camp within 6 to 8 weeks. That is the goal we have set for ourselves. This will be dependent, of course, largely upon the host country and the UNHCR's willingness to move rapidly.

Mr. FASCELL. How much in this total of \$207 million is the U.S. share for the resettlement camps?

Ambassador CLARK. \$20 million would be for the special refugee processing centers, which would be one-third of the estimated total cost.

Mr. FASCELL. How much for transportation? Is all of that transportation reimbursement to DOD?

Ambassador CLARK. The agreement is that four ships of the Military Sealift Command would be made available for purposes of moving refugees to a large center, based upon a center of 100,000.

Mr. FASCELL. You have \$17 million in here for reimbursement to Defense. Is that all the transportation costs involved? The answer is no, because in the \$105 million there are transportation costs in there for the bilateral program. And the amount of money going to the U.N. High Commissioner? How much is that?

Where is the U.N. High Commissioner in here? Is that in the \$64 million? Now, it says "care and maintenance." Does that include transportation?

Ambassador CLARK. No; the care and maintenance cost does not include transportation.

Mr. FASCELL. So the transportation, then, is the requirement of whatever country is going to take the resettlement; is that right?

Ambassador CLARK. I would explain it in this way. Of the \$64 million, that is strictly care and maintenance in the camps in Southeast Asia. The additional \$20 million for refugee processing centers is a separate item. But the \$17 million reimbursement to the Department of Defense includes within that figure three items: one, about \$3 million for air surveillance to find those refugees in distress; and then the use of the our special Sealift Command shifts for the purpose of both searching for refugees in distress and moving 100,000 people off the camps to refugee processing camps.

The separate transportation you have outlined, for example, to come to the United States is included in the \$105 million additional request for resettlement, yes.

Mr. FASCELL. So resettlement costs go to the host country.

Ambassador CLARK. That is correct. The transportation costs, in our case.

Mr. FASCELL. But the transportation cost in this request here for DOD is the movement between camps or to a camp.

Ambassador CLARK. That is correct.

Mr. FASCELL. What is the legal status of the people coming to the United States?

Ambassador CLARK. They are in conditional entry status for 2 years, and then they are permanent residents for 3 additional years.

Mr. FASCELL. Under what authority is that? Is that the Attorney General, the Executive, or—

Ambassador CLARK. The Immigration and Nationality Act. It is within the Justice Department.

Mr. FASCELL. Is that a discretionary authority which has been exercised?

#### STATEMENT OF FRANK MOSS, BUDGET OFFICER, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. Moss. I believe, Mr. Chairman, it is a part of the law. As part of the Refugee Act, as you probably know, that would be changed and the people would come and immediately have permanent resident alien status.

Mr. FASCELL. Do you mean on the new act now pending in Judiciary?

Mr. Moss. Yes.

Mr. FASCELL. That has not been enacted yet, so I am trying to find out what their status is as of now and under what authority they are coming in.



Mr. Moss. They are coming in under parole authorities granted by the Attorney General.

Mr. FASCELL. So they are paroled into the United States.

Mr. Moss. They have conditional entry status for 2 years and then their status is adjusted to permanent resident alien status.

Mr. FASCELL. But they are not paroled in as refugees?

Ambassador CLARK. Yes; they are.

Mr. FASCELL. So they are paroled into the United States as refugees and they will retain that status for 2 years.

Ambassador CLARK. Yes.

Mr. FASCELL. And then they will be permitted to adjust their status? Is that also under the discretionary authority of the Attorney General, pursuant to law, of course?

Mr. Moss. Yes, it is.

Mr. FASCELL. I am assuming all of this is done legally. I am just trying to get on the record how this is going to operate so that we can answer the questions. They will, then, be permitted to change their status to what?

Ambassador CLARK. At the end of 5 years they are eligible for citizenship.

Mr. FASCELL. Well, what is the 2-year limitation?

Mr. Moss. After 2 years, Mr. Chairman, they are able to adjust their status to permanent resident alien status in this country. They retain that for 3 additional years.

Mr. FASCELL. And then they are eligible to become citizens?

Mr. Moss. Exactly. That is what will be happening in the spring of 1980.

Mr. FASCELL. On all of these persons who are paroled in under the Attorney General's authority for 2 years as refugees to the United States, the voluntary agencies are doing the resettlement, is that correct, and they are taking care of sponsorship and insuring that these refugees do not become public charges? Is that correct?

Ambassador CLARK. Well, they are eligible for public assistance.

Mr. Moss. Under the Indochinese Refugee Assistance Act, they are specifically made eligible for public assistance during these first 2 years.

Mr. FASCELL. Is there any limitation on that? Is it a 2-year limitation?

Mr. Moss. Under the current law, there is no limitation. But the actual law expires on September 30 of this year. So in fact, unless the Refugee Act of 1979 is passed, the program will expire at that time.

Mr. FASCELL. Unless it is extended for another 2 years. But the President's proposal, as I recall it, would provide a 2-year period of some governmental assistance in the event it is required.

Ambassador CLARK. That is correct.

Mr. FASCELL. But the basic theory on resettlement is that the refugee comes in under a statement of not becoming a public charge. That is not correct?

Ambassador CLARK. No, that is not correct.

Mr. FASCELL. Do any of these refugees who have been coming in require hospitalization?

Mr. Moss. Yes, they do. There are substantial sums appropriated in the Labor-HEW appropriations bill for medicaid, social services, and—

Mr. FASCELL. Specifically?

Mr. Moss. Yes. It is under the refugee assistance portion of that budget.

Mr. FASCELL. Is that a limitation, also? Is that within the 2-year limitation?

Mr. Moss. For refugees currently entering the country, it is an open-ended program. It would be narrowed to a 2-year program under the Refugee Act.

Mr. FASCELL. So appropriations for Federal assistance, then, would be limited if this bill passed with a 2-year limitation?

Mr. Moss. The special eligibility criteria would be limited to a 2-year period, along with the special Federal reimbursement procedures.

Mr. FASCELL. Does that include special educational requirements?

Mr. Moss. Yes; it does.

Mr. FASCELL. So it runs a whole gamut of care.

Mr. Moss. Correct.

Mr. FASCELL. This would include educational and medical assistance, and so forth.

Mr. Moss. Absolutely.

Ambassador CLARK. I must say the educational portion of this is very low.

Mr. FASCELL. I was just relating it to the Cuban refugee program, which also required a special act and which is in the process of being phased out. Our experience there indicated that there were considerable local costs which the Federal Government had to pick up; otherwise, it would have just been impossible. I am sure that every town, every county, and every State is going to be looking at that additional problem, which is how does it affect their costs. And if there is no Federal reimbursement dollar for dollar, you are going to have a tough time on resettlement. That is the only thing I was getting at.

Ambassador CLARK. As a matter of fact, the State organization has opposed that portion of the Refugee Act in their testimony.

Mr. FASCELL. For obvious reasons. Now, let's deal with other refugees, Mr. Ambassador, who are increasing in number. Let's take the ones closest to home first. There is a considerable difference of opinion with respect to the status of Haitians who are leaving their country and appearing on the shores of the United States. Of course, until they ask for asylum, they are considered to be improperly in the United States. The new term is "undocumented alien" instead of "illegal alien."

There has been some urging, as you know, by the Black Caucus, to have a change in the definition with respect to the basic law now so that an economic refugee is in the same status as a political refugee. I know that as far as when they hit the shores, it is not your direct responsibility yet, but I don't know how you can separate it all out. While they are somewhere or while they are in limbo, I think they become your responsibility.

In addition to that, we now have the question of the Nicaraguans, as well as others. I can name almost any country in Latin America



where we are having the same problem. This gives rise to the question of, one, what is the U.S. policy going to be with respect to these people in light of the fact that some people want to do away with the distinction between political and economic refugee? That would change the whole theory of international law with respect to seeking political asylum.

Ambassador CLARK. Yes; that is right.

Mr. FASCELL. That lays the entire matter in your lap, as I see it. The other question that follows after that is what do you do about care and maintenance of those people who require services, and there are considerable services required which up until now have been the burden of the local governments? This is a policy matter which you and I have discussed several times now, and unless we take this new act in some way and cover this broad spectrum of problems, it is going to continue to be an increasing problem.

I think we just have to face up to it. I am not sure that that has been done anywhere. I am simply calling it to your attention because I know that the Indochina problem right now has the attention of the public. But there are other problems just as vast and just as serious.

Let's move around and go to Africa where we have an increasing number of internal refugees and where we have been trying to make our financial contribution to that problem.

Ambassador CLARK. Yes.

Mr. FASCELL. I don't know how the world looks at that but I would be glad to hear your comments in general philosophical terms, if not specific terms, about that problem.

Ambassador CLARK. I think it is an excellent point. It happens that the largest number of refugees on any continent in the world is in Africa. It is estimated there are between 3 and 4 million refugees there. And as you point out quite accurately, it is not a question here of permanent resettlement in another part of the world. It is a question of care and maintenance of refugees who have moved across borders, and they are refugees principally because of civil strife in Rhodesia, Namibia and other places in southern Africa or the Horn of Africa.

We are, as you have indicated, trying to play a greater role in that part of the world with regard to refugees, and we have agreed this year to cover one-third of the costs of the UNHCR in Africa. I did discuss with Mr. Hartling, the U.N. High Commissioner, ways in which we felt they could be more effective in terms of helping African refugees and encouraging them to undertake some additional programs there that could be helpful.

But the short answer, I think, is that we do have to do more in that part of the world. This is where a major problem lies, in that continent.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Mica.

Mr. MICA. With regard to that point, when you say "we," do you mean the United States or the United Nations?

Ambassador CLARK. The world generally.

Mr. MICA. I think you raised a legitimate point. Obviously the Haitian situation in south Florida is of concern. It brings to mind the overall problem where many of us are concerned about the boat people. But obviously, we are not impacted like certain cities in Cali-

fornia, and some are concerned about the Haitian situation, but they do not bear the cost of it like certain cities in my district and the chairman's district.

Mr. FASCELL. And they are boat people, I might add, like the Cubans who came over in bathtubs, inner tubes, and leaky rowboats.

Mr. MICA. I think it might be well if you can take a moment to delineate what you feel is our role or our maximum in this area. It appears to me, and this is back to my original premise, that we have gone above and beyond the call of duty in the area of refugees and assistance and we need to continue our assistance, but we may have some limits. You know, it has always been the inscription on the Statue of Liberty, "Give me your restless, your tired, your poor." But many Americans now feel that there is a limit. And with the continuing changes and upheaval in the world, I could see from all the Middle East countries, including Iran, problems, and Africa, as you mention, and South America.

Do we have specific limits or specific areas where we say this is about as far as we think we should go? Or are we planning to try to rise to the occasion of any problem anywhere in the world?

Ambassador CLARK. It is a difficult question to answer, but in fact we did consider this very carefully in proposing the new refugee legislation, which we discussed at length with the appropriate committees of both houses of the Congress: Should there be an absolute limitation?

All of us came to the conclusion that to put an absolute limitation could get us in a very difficult position, not knowing what might occur in the future with regard to any part of the world. So what we did was to say that the normal flow for 1 year would be 50,000, but that there are two other sections of the bill that allow, under emergency conditions, after consultation with the Congress, to go above those figures.

If we were, for example, to have a limitation, let us suppose that a few years ago in writing such legislation we would have put a limitation of 100,000, an absolute limitation. Then it would have meant that it would have been impossible, for example, for us to go from 7,000 to 14,000 on Indochina, or to go for the parole for Cuban prisoners, or for the Jews coming out of the Soviet Union.

So that we think flexibility is necessary because it is impossible to anticipate what might happen.

Mr. MICA. I understand the flexibility, but we met with the ASEAN nations, with the ambassador, some weeks ago, with regard to the boat people. He said: You know, if you fill a cup full of water, you can only put it so full and then it starts to flow over. And of course he was referring to the problem that nation has.

We have not reached that point, but I think there is a point where our people are going to say we have done our job. Many say that now, incidentally, in my area. I have been outspoken in helping the boat people and refugees, but many of my people say we have done enough, get the rest of the world to do more.

But the point is you can keep flexible until you overflow. I just wonder if we have made any economic projections, for instance. I have



heard that some of the impact in California has been devastating. I don't know. We haven't had anywhere near the impact in south Florida with Haitians that they have and with Vietnamese, but have we made any projections?

We had Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing before our committee and we asked him about free immigration, as you may recall, and his answer was: Certainly. How many would you like, 10, 20, 50, 100 million? Where do we stand? We may be facing that problem shortly. Have we done any studies?

Ambassador CLARK. We have not done specific studies on what the absolute numbers would be in each group or in all groups combined. I think it is our feeling—and it has at least been the feeling of Congress in the past—that we really have to make those judgments in each case, as we are doing here today in the case of the Indochinese.

In other words, is this particular request reasonable? Can the country adjust to it? What are the costs to the country? What are the advantages to the country? I think it almost must be made on an ad hoc basis because we never know exactly what the impact is going to be until we see it and what the advantages and disadvantages are until we see them.

So that I think it is very difficult to do anything other than to make those judgments as they occur.

Mr. FASCELL. Will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. MICA. Yes.

Mr. FASCELL. I think part of the answer is that the Congress fixes the policy with respect to the number of people who will be admitted under the immigration laws, and that is a definite quota. In addition to that, we provide discretionary authority to the Administration to parole into the U.S. a certain number of people. That also has a limitation, doesn't it?

Ambassador CLARK. There is no limitation on the parole, but it is exercised in consultation with the Congress.

Mr. FASCELL. So in any event, Congress will operate either by way of consultation with respect to the parolees or place a limit on parolees like it does with respect to the normal immigration laws. So that is the answer, I believe, to the gentlemen, which is that it is a matter of national policy which is now being considered in the Judiciary Committee and which this committee will also consider because of the international aspects.

Mr. MICA. I thank the chairman. I don't know whether we have time to get into this, but the other half of the question would be is the U.N. really doing the job? You indicated areas where you felt they could do more. Do you mean they have done a great job and they can do better, or they haven't done very well and they need to start changing?

Ambassador CLARK. I think it is difficult to assess, but I believe that they would agree that improvements are needed in programs, and I think this conference gives us the ability to do that.

Mr. FASCELL. OK, Mr. Ambassador. We are going to have to go vote and you must go before another committee. But I wanted to point out, as if you didn't have enough problems, the fact that we have increased refugees coming from the Soviet Union.

Ambassador CLARK. Yes.

Mr. FASCELL. As you know, although the administration did not request it, the Congress wrote in the authorization bill \$25 million for the program to assist the Soviet and Eastern European refugees resettling in Israel.

The Senate put the language in the authorization bill, Mr. Ambassador, but they did a peculiar thing. They left the \$25 million earmarking in but they took it out of the hide of the State Department's administrative costs. The matter is in conference, but I am here to tell you that there will not be sufficient funding to either operate the State Department or to take care of the refugee problem if we follow what the Senate has done.

We are going to try to change it in conference.

Ambassador CLARK. We support the chairman's position.

Mr. FASCELL. I assume also because of the increased flow of Soviet refugees, that we probably have not allocated, authorized, or appropriated sufficient money to take care of that increased flow and that the Department is probably going to have to come back with a supplemental in the spring of next year. I don't know. You don't have to answer that. But that is the way it looks to me. And the only thing we can say is that the problem is so fast moving and so gigantic that there is no way that the Department can plan for it in an orderly way.

I don't see any way around it. So we will do the best we can, at least, with the fiscal 1980 budget amendment.

Thank you very much.

Ambassador CLARK. Thank you.

Mr. FASCELL. And the subcommittee will stand in recess until we can consider the markup of the bill.

[Brief recess.]

Mr. FASCELL. Now that we have everybody here, you have before you, gentlemen, the draft legislation on the budget amendment for fiscal years 1980 and 1981 for migration and refugee assistance. As you heard the Ambassador testify this morning, those are the figures which have been approved by OMB.

The supplementary budget request has been submitted to the Appropriations Committee. The Appropriations Committee is meeting right now to consider the appropriations request and they will be very anxious to have the authorization, of course. We plan, after action by the subcommittee today, to take it up in the full committee on Friday.

Then our purpose would be to take the authorization to conference in the State Department authorization. The first conference on that bill will be held on July 30. And although this additional money would be beyond the scope of the conference, it would be our intention to add it to the conference report with the acquiescence of the Senate.

If someone objects when we come back to the House, we would then have a separate vote on that. If we do not do it that way, we will then undertake to bring up this bill as a separate authorization request. But I would rather not do that if we can do it.

Mr. Mohrman, have you something to say? Mr. Boyer, do you have something to say? You have a very quizzical look on your face. As a budget man, what is wrong with that?

Mr. BOYER. Just logistics, but either procedure ought to be all right.



Mr. FASCELL. But you two experts out there don't see any problem in that, am I right? Am I correct that if we can get this additional authorization in the State Department authorization bill, the only technicality is coming back to the House with the conference report? If there is an objection, we would have to have a separate vote.

Mr. MOHRMAN.<sup>1</sup> There would not be a separate vote on this matter. The point of order would lie against the entire conference report. There may be procedural ways that we can avoid that, but in any case, it would not be a separate vote on this additional money.

Mr. FASCELL. We could request a rule, I suppose, but I am not sure I want to do that even if someone wants to object. I guess we would just have to let them object to the conference report. I don't know. We will work on that.

Right now, the matter at hand is the consideration of the draft legislation.

Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Chairman, I move it be considered as read, and I would associate myself with your remarks. I would move that it be reported to the full committee with a recommendation that it be reported—

Mr. MICA. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Mica?

Mr. MICA. I might just say that with my record of what I hope as trying to be a guardian of the Government's dollars and fiscal austerity, that with your assurance that these funds will be used to relieve some human suffering and none of these funds will be used wastefully or inefficiently, I would move to make it unanimous.

Mr. FASCELL. I can assure the gentleman that the money is going to be used to relieve human suffering, and it had better not be wasted.

Mr. MICA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FASCELL. All those in favor of reporting the bill out, signify by saying "aye."

[Chorus of "ayes."]

Mr. FASCELL. All those opposed, "no."

[No response.]

Mr. FASCELL. The "ayes" have it. It is so ordered. It is reported out. We will take it up at the full committee.

Does anyone want to cosponsor this? We need to introduce it and get it in the full committee. So anyone who wants to cosponsor it, let the subcommittee staff know and we will do it.

[Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned.]

<sup>1</sup> William C. Mohrman, Office of the Legislative Counsel.

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DIVISION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES  
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TO THE EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL OF THE  
ROYAL SOCIETY OF MEDICINE  
11, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst.

in relation to the above mentioned matter.

I am sorry to hear that you have been unable to obtain the necessary  
information from the authorities concerned.

I am sure that you will be able to obtain the necessary information  
from the authorities concerned.

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**AUTHORIZING ADDITIONAL DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
APPROPRIATIONS FOR MIGRATION AND REFUGEE  
ASSISTANCE FISCAL YEARS 1980 AND 1981**

**FRIDAY, JULY 27, 1979**

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, D.C.***

The committee met at 9:45 a.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Clement J. Zablocki (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The committee will please come to order.

We are meeting today to consider H.R. 4955, a bill to authorize an additional appropriation of \$207,290,000 for fiscal year 1980 and \$203,610,000 for fiscal year 1981 for migration and refugee assistance.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Fascell, to explain the bill.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, as you have explained, this is the budget amendment for fiscal years 1980 and 1981 for refugee assistance to fulfill the commitment made by the United States at the Geneva conference which would enable the rate of refugee resettlement under the U.S. bilateral program to go to 14,000 refugees a month from the present 7,000.

In the Subcommittee on International Operations we held a hearing on this matter July 25 and reviewed the request thoroughly with Ambassador Dick Clark. The requested funds will provide additional assistance to the U.N. High Commissioners for Refugees, as well as funds for the creation of new refugee processing centers in Southeast Asia, and reimbursement to the Department of Defense for the use of U.S. Navy ships and planes to rescue refugees in the South China Sea.

The situation obviously is critical and therefore we are doing our best to get this 1980-1981 budget amendment on its way, either as a separate bill for as part of the conference which is now pending on the State Department authorization bill. We are advised that the Appropriations Committee has considered the additional request and is willing to act, at least in the first instance on the action taken by this committee as far as the authorization is concerned, and hopefully we are going to be able to get this urgent matter attended to in a reasonably short time.

Mr. GOODLING. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. FASCELL. I would be delighted to yield.

Mr. GOODLING. I have a summary here from our staff that says \$105 million from the U.S. refugee program is needed to cover the cost for processing, transportation, reception, and initial resettlement in the United States. How many people does that cover?

Mr. FASCELL. 14,000 a month is what it would come to.

Mr. GOODLING. For how long?

Mr. FASCELL. Two years is the current projection. You must add the money that is requested in this budget amendment to the money that is in the 1980 regular budget, because that budget was computed at the rate of 7,000 refugees per month and the budget amendment provides for another 7,000 resettlements a month, thereby totalling 168,000 resettlements in the United States in fiscal year 1980.

And the per capita costs, I might add to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, are exactly the same for both fiscal years. The figure is \$500 per capita.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. Are there any further questions?

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Wolff.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to ask the chairman of the subcommittee, concerning the additional funds for the UNHCR—and I know that we went over this in committee—the problem we have had in the past, and it continues to be a problem, is the lack of personnel in the field from the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

A story appeared only yesterday in the Washington Post relative to the lack of personnel in the field for the handling of refugees and the great number of people in administration who sit in Geneva and elsewhere.

If we are really to address this problem of Vietnamese refugees as it should be addressed, there must be, in addition to the Peace Corps, who are volunteers, some effort made by the UNHCR to see to it that they have people in the field to administer some of these camps that have already been set up and to care for these people who are in the camps.

One aspect of this has been the figures that were given on the number of personnel. For example, in Thailand, there were three people in the field administering the program and the rest were secretaries or support personnel.

If you do not have the UNHCR people in the field to oversee what is going on in these camps, the deplorable conditions that exist will continue to exist.

I would hope that we make strong representations to the UNHCR to see to it that they get more people out in the field to see to it that these people are taken care of.

Ms. FENWICK. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOLFF. I would be glad to yield.

Ms. FENWICK. I wonder, three people out of how many were actually in the field? What was the total force that was there?

Mr. WOLFF. As I understand it, there were some 20 or 30 people who were in Thailand alone, and for the number of camps that they had—I think there were 12 or 14 camps—they had only 3 people in the field. Hardly enough to be able to exercise any degree of oversight



as to what was being done or the conditions under which these people must live.

Ms. FENWICK. Thank you.

Mr. FASCELL. Will the gentleman yield?

I agree with the gentleman from New York on the needs for additional personnel in the camps. Conditions there have been deplorable, not only from an administrative point of view, but because they have been overcrowded, and because the people have been kept there for a long time.

One of the things that has concerned me has been the fact that we should, in the resettlement process, make these short-term resettlement camps and not semipermanent camps.

But the Geneva Conference has brought about some improvement on that score. Certainly the conference itself was a success in focusing world attention and also in getting additional financial and resettlement commitments.

For example, on the point that the Chairman has raised on UNHCR, we have gotten world commitments beyond what we thought we would be able to get in terms of resettlement. The figure is now 260,000 resettlement offers.

It will do a great deal, of course, to eliminate the pressure in those camps, but they certainly do need more people.

But the pledges to the U.N. High Commissioner have been really excellent and, of course, with the Japanese commitment to pay 50 percent of the needs of the UNHCR's Indochinese program, that helps tremendously, too. So we do see some light in this thing.

Mr. WOLFF. Well, at the point where we are now, I am confident that the funds will be forthcoming. What I am not so confident of at the present time is that the UNHCR will assign the necessary people—

Mr. FASCELL. I will join with the gentleman in making sure that we—"we" meaning the United States—make strong representations to the U.N. High Commissioner with respect to providing adequate personnel in the camps.

I think the gentleman is absolutely correct.

I will be glad to yield to the gentleman from New York, if he wants his own time.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The gentleman from New York is recognized.

Mr. SOLARZ. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I just wanted to pay tribute to you, Mr. Chairman, and to Mr. Fascell for arranging to consider this legislation so expeditiously. I had the privilege of participating in the Geneva conference together with Chairman Wolf and Mr. Pritchard from our committee. I think it is probably fair to say that, in the history of refugee conferences, this meeting at Geneva was not only the most successful conference that was ever held, it was the only successful refugee conference that was ever held.

Its success was, in large measure, due to the leadership which our country has shown in trying to fashion and formulate a more meaningful humanitarian response to this tremendous crisis. This legislation will enable us to fulfill the pledges made by President Carter, which were reiterated by Vice President Mondale at Geneva, to double the

number of refugees we will be taking in and to dispatch the 7th Fleet to rescue the dying and drowning boat people in the South China Sea.

I suspect that this will be passed overwhelmingly but, just for the record, it should be noted that in the event this legislation were not enacted by February or March of next year, we would run out of money, we would be back where we started. Indeed by virtue of our failure to pass this legislation, the countries of first asylum in South-east Asia—Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia—as well as the other countries in the world that responded to our initiative by agreeing to double the number of refugees they would accept for permanent resettlement—might very well wonder whether we were, in fact, prepared to live up to the commitments which we made at that conference.

So I think that not only the honor, but really, the integrity of our commitment is at stake here, and I very much want to congratulate Mr. Fascell and Mr. Zablocki for bringing his before us and for their leadership in this issue.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The gentleman from Washington, Mr. Pritchard.

Mr. PRITCHARD. In its simplest terms, we are putting our money where our mouth is and I think it is essential to do it quickly.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The clerk will read.

Mr. BOYER<sup>1</sup> [reading]:

H.R. 4955 in the House of Representatives, a bill to authorize an additional appropriation of \$207,290,000 in fiscal year 1980 and \$203,610,000 for the fiscal year 1981 for migration and refugee assistance.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The gentleman from Florida asked for unanimous consent that the bill be considered as read and open for amendment. Is there objection?

The Chair hears none.

The question occurs on ordering H.R. 4955 favorably reported.

All those in favor, signify by saying "aye."

[A chorus of "ayes."]

Chairman ZABLOCKI. Opposed, "no."

[No response.]

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The "ayes" have it, and H.R. 4955 is ordered favorably reported.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman?

Chairman ZABLOCKI. The gentleman from Florida.

Mr. FASCELL. I ask unanimous consent that we keep the roll open for 30 minutes to allow those members—

Chairman ZABLOCKI. There is no record vote. It is a unanimous voice vote, a quorum being present.

I presume that the committee would want the Chair to take all measures to expedite the consideration of this bill on the floor of the House.

Ms. FENWICK. I so move.

Chairman ZABLOCKI. So be it.

The committee stands adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

[Thereupon, at 9:55 a.m. the committee adjourned.]

<sup>1</sup> Robert K. Boyer, senior committee staff consultant.



